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(Founded by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri)

2017 Vols.LXXXVIII-XC

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THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE
MADRAS - 600 004

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PREFACE

The Kuppuswami Sastri Research institute is happy and privileged to bring out volumes 88-90 of the Journal of Oriental Research as a bumper issue to mark its Bhimaratha Mahotsava – 70th Anniversary Celebrations that went off quite successfully during Oct. 2015 - Feb. 2017. This bumper issue also marks the 90th year of the JOR from its inception in 1927.

Founded in the name of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri a scholar of colossal magnitude, who established Sanskrit studies and research in various Universities of Tamil Nadu, the Institute has held up the high ideals set by him. With the galaxy of eminent personalities at its helm – Rt.Hon'lbe V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, a public figure and world famous as the silver-tongued orator, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, former President of India and renowned philosopher, Dr. C. Sivaramamurthy, a leading art-historian, Sri T.R.Venkatarama Sastri and Sri T.V. Visvanatha Iyer, leading lawyers and prominent citizens of Madras and Padmabhushan Dr. N. Mahalingam, who was a statesman, industrialist, educationist and philanthropist – as Presidents; Dr. A.Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, Sri C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, a well-known public figure, Justice Mr. T.L.Venkatarama Iyer, Judge, Supreme Court of India – as Vice-Presidents; Padmabhushan Dr.V.Raghavan, a great Sanskrit scholar and Indologist of world repute, Padmabhushan Sri K. Balasubramania Iyer, a great scholar and educationist, Sri K. Chandrasekharan, a well-known literary figure in Tamil Nadu and Sri B. Madhavan, a great scholar and educationist – as Secretaries, the

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Institute made great stride in the field of Sanskrit Research. The institute had the benefit of valuable assistance of an expert Research Committee chaired by stalwarts like Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Prof. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, Dr. C.Kunhan Raja, Dr.P.S Subrahmanya Sastri, Dr. K.Kunjunni Raja and others. Under the able guidance of all these eminent personages, and with Dr. S.S. Janaki, a worthy disciple of Dr.V. Raghavan, as the Director, (1979-92) the Institute has grown into a unique organisation of its kind in South India.

The Inauguration of the Bhimaratha Mahotsava – 70th Anniversery Celebrations of the Institute was held on 29th Oct.2016. His Excellencey Sri.E.S.L. Narasimhan, Governor of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana delivered the inaugural Address. Expressing his happiness to participate in the function he laid stress on the value of Sanskrit studies and research. Emphasising the necessity of studying languages he said "I appeal, especially to the youth, to study languages, whether Sanskrit or Tamil or English or Telugu or Hindi and make proper use of the language. Language makes a person a good human being by moulding the character of the person".

He Citied Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's words - "If I was asked what is the greatest treasure which India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly, it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that it contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long will the basic genius of India continue. I would like to promote the study of Sanskrit and put our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has almost been forgotten". His Excellency declared that because of such Institutions like the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, the spirit and light of the intellectual activity of the country is kept alive.

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Swami Atmapriyanandaji Maharaj (Vice-Chancellor, R.K.M. Vivekananda University, Belur), in his Key Note Address appreciated the various activities of the Institute in unravelling the great heritage of Sanskrit and Indian culture.

Hon'ble Justice R.V.Easwaran (Former Judge, Delhi High Court), delivered the Special Address in which he highlighted the principles of Jurisprudence of Ancient India that has come down through the ages in the form of Modern Hindu Law.*

To mark the occasion, the Institute brought out four publications that were released by His Excellency Sri E.S.L. Narasimhan, Governor of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

1. **The Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume**: Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri single handedly paved way for the development of Sanskrit studies including research in this field in South India. It is no wonder he was respected by every one and was also honoured with many titles during his life time. This volume carries homages paid to this great scholar by learned scholars from all over the country and abroad; the Kāvya titled *Gurucaritam*, a biographical composition on the Professor by his disciple Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhat and Dr. V. Raghavan's article on his Professor's Life and Works.

2. **Śiva Temple and Temple Rituals**: This is the revised edition of the much demanded publication of the Institute *Śiva Temple and Temple Rituals* which forms the proceedings of the seminar conducted during June 1983. This book edited by Dr. S. S. Janaki comprises of well-documented articles in English and Tamil dealing with important details to be observed in the construction of temples and the *Pūjā paddhatis*.

* His Address is published in this volume as the first article.

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3. **Dhyānabindūpaniṣat:** This text though smaller in size compared to many popular texts on Haṭha Yoga, gives a glimpse of many practices that are dealt with in the texts on Yoga. It also deals with both *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa Brahman* and the process of contemplation on these two aspects of God.

4. **Caturyuga Calendar of Vaivasvata Manvantara (Puranic Chronicles):** This book is the result of the Institute's efforts to fix the history of India as found in the Purāṇas within the limit of 3,00,000 years. The Puranic events provided in this book offer an excellent frame work for incorporating Sūryavamśa, Candravamśa and other dynasties within the revised Caturyuga scale. A great potential lies ahead for further research on a larger scale for enthusiasts.

In connection with the 70th Anniversary Celebration, National Seminars, Workshop and Special Lectures were arranged during 2015 – 17. The first was the **National Seminar on Tattvatraya – Jīva-Jagat-Īśvara** held during 30-31 Oct. 2015. The Seminar was inaugurated by Swami Vedatattwanandaji Maharaj (Principal, Ramakrishna Math Vivekananda Veda Vidyalaya, Belur, West Bengal). Scholars who were specialists in Indian Philosophy participated in this Seminar by presenting papers and by making observatory remarks.

SESSION I — NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA

Prof. Sripada Subrahmanya Sastri Former Director & Prof. of Sanskrit, Telugu University, Andhra Pradesh	**Jīva**
Dr. Vira Narayana Pandurangi Dean, Faculty of Vedānta Karnataka Samskrit University, Bengaluru	**Jagat**
Dr. Ujjwala Jha Prof., CASS, University of Pune	**Īśvara**

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SESSION II — SĀṄKHYA-YOGA

Dr. Chakra Dhar Behera Asso. Prof., Dept. of Sanskrit Central University, Pondicherry	**Jīva**
Dr. M.A. Lakshmi Tatachar President, Samskriti Foundation, Mysore	**Jagat**
Dr. Krishna Kanta Sharma Prof., Dept. of Vaidik Darshan Faculty of SVDV, Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi	**Īśvara**

SESSION III — PŪRVA MĪMĀMSĀ

Prof. Chirravuri Sri Rama Sharma Retd. Prof. of Mīmāmsā, Gautamiya Samskrita Vidyapeetha, Rajahmundry	**Jīva**
Dr. Mani Dravid Asso. Prof. of Mīmāmsā, The Madras Sanskrit College, Chennai	**Jagat**
Prof. Subbaraya V. Bhatta Prof. & Head, Dept. of Mīmāmsā, Rajiv Gandhi Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Sringeri	**Īśvara**

SESSION IV — UTTARA MĪMĀMSĀ

Dr. P.P. Sridhara Upadhyaya Asso. Prof. of Nyāya, The Madras Sanskrit College, Chennai	**Jīva** **(Dvaita)**
Dr. P. Ramanujam Asso. Director, Indian Heritage & Language, C-DAC, Bengaluru	**Jagat** **(Viśiṣṭādvaita)**
Prof. V. Swaminathan Former Principal, Guruvayur Samskrita Vidyapeetha, Kerala	**Īśvara** **(Advaita)**

The Valedictory Address of the Seminar was delivered by Mm. Dr. R. Krishnamurthy Sastrigal (former Principal, The Madras Sanskrit

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College). He had been kind enough to be present on both the days and on all sessions. He summarised the whole proceedings and enhanced the views of the scholars with his observatory remarks.

During 6-9 Jan. 2016 a four day **Workshop on Ancient Indian Mathematics and Astronomy** was conducted in collaboration with The Madras Sanskrit College. Mathematics has a long tradition in India starting from the Vedic times. The first significant mathematical text to be found in the Vedic literature is the Śulba Sūtras. Indian mathematics reached the pinnacle of its achievement with the advent of Bhāskarācārya (Bhāskara II) in the 12th Century A.D.

The Institute has been publishing, from its inception, critical editions of texts related to Indian mathematics and astronomy. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, published by the Institute also contained articles pertaining to these subjects. Savants like Prof. T.S. Kuppanna Sastri, Prof. D.D. Kosambi, Dr. David Pingree, Dr. Arka Somayaji, Dr. K.V. Sarma and Dr. George Abraham, were involved in such academic endeavours of the Institute. Presently Dr. M. S. Rangachari, Dr. S. Kannan, Dr. S. Madhavan, Dr. Takao Hayashi, Dr. M.D. Srinivas and others are also associated with the Institute.

In the same line, the workshop on Mathematics was envisaged. *Sūrya Siddhānta* (an astronomical text), *Bījagaṇita* (Algebra) and *Pāṭīgaṇita* (Arithmetic) were taught by Dr.T.P. Radhakrishnan (Principal, The Madras Sanskrit College), Dr. Sita Sundar Ram and Dr.V. Ramakalyani (Research Fellows, The K.S.R. Institute) respectively. Apart from many scholars, students of Mathematics and Sanskrit from different colleges in and around Chennai participated and were benefitted by this Workshop. The Workshop was presided over by Prof. M.S.Rangachari (Former Director and Head, The Ramanujam Institute for Advanced Study in Mathematics, University of Madras). The inaugural address was delivered by Padma Bhushan

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Dr. S.R. Srinivasa Varadhan (Frank J Gould Prof. of Science and Prof. of Mathematics at the Courant Institute of Mathematical Sciences, New York University). Both of them brought to light the contribution of ancient India to the development of world Mathematics.

Special lectures were also arranged in connection with this workshop. The speakers and their lectures are given below:

Dr. M. D. Srinivas (Former Prof., Dept. of Theoretical Physics, University of Madras, Director, Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai)	Indian Mathematics And Astronomy: A Historical Overview
Brahmasri. R. Sundararama Vajapeyayaji (Well-known Śulbasūtra and Vedic Mathematics Scholar	Śulbasūtras
Prof. M.S. Sriram (Former Prof., Dept. of Theoretical Physics, University of Madras)	Siddhānta Śiromaṇi
Dr. K. Ramasubramanian (Prof., Dept. of Humanities, IIT, Bombay)	Magic Squares

Another two day **National Seminar on Environmental and Ecological Awareness in Ancient India** was held on 8-9 July 2016. The Seminar was inaugurated by Hon'ble Justice Dr.P. Jyothimani (Judicial Member, National Green Tribunal, Southern Zone Bench) who enlightened the audience about the knowledge of our ancestors in preserving the ecological balance. In the process he cited from texts like *Arthaśāstra* and *Tirukkuṛaḷ*. Dr. Gauri Mahulikar (Former Prof. and Head, Dept.of Sanskrit, University of Mumbai) delivered the Key note Address by bringing out the salient features of the ways and means given by the Dharmaśāstra texts to preserve and enrich the Nature around us.**

Scholars from all parts of India were invited to present their views on the subject from various points of view.

** Both the papers are printed in this volume.

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Dr.Bhagyalata A. Pataskar Director, Vaidika Samsodhana Mandal, Pune.	**Vedas and Āgamas**
Dr.V. Shriramana Sharma Adhyapaka, Vidyasthanam, Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham, Neroor, Tamilnadu.	**Vedas**
Dr. S. Aruna Sundaram Prof. of Vyakarana, The Madras Sanskrit College, Chennai	**Āgamas**
Dr. SunandaY. Shastri Prof. of Sanskrit, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad	**Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra**
Dr. Braja Kishore Swain Former Prof. of Dharma Śāstra, Sri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri	**Dharma Śāstra**
Dr. G. Sankaranarayanan Asst. Prof., Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Culture, SCSVMV University, Kanchipuram	**Artha Śāstra**
Dr. A.V. Balasubramanian Director, Centre for Indian Knowledge System, Chennai	**Technical Literature**
Dr. S. Sundara Rajan Hony. Director, Centre for Research and Innovation in Bio-sciences, Tumkur University	**Vṛkṣāyurveda**
Dr. S. Swaminathan Head, Dept of Samhita-Siddhanta-Sanskrit, Sri Jayendra Saraswathi Ayurveda College & Hospital, Nazarethpet, Chennai	**Āyurveda**
Dr. G.S.R. Krishnamurthy Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupathi	**Ithihāsa, Purāṇa and Kāvya**
Dr. N.K. Sundareswaran Associate Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calicut	**Ithihāsa**
Dr. K. Sreekantha Sarma Former Professor of Sahitya, The Madras Sanskrit College, Chennai	**Purāṇa**

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The Valedictory Address was delivered by Dr. Nandita Krishna (Founder Director, The C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Chennai) stressing the importance of the ancient methods of developing unpolluted environment.

On 16th and 17th of September 2016, the Institute conducted a **National Seminar on Sanskrit and Tamil Nadu**. Tamil Nadu has contributed much to Sanskrit for centuries. There have been poems, prose, Campū, dramas, texts on different schools of philosophy, religion, arts, medicine and so on composed in Sanskrit by great scholars of Tamil Nadu. This seminar focussed on how Sanskrit was nurtured by Tamil Nadu through the centuries to this day and also on the co-existence of Sanskrit and Tamil which were considered as two eyes by the ancient Tamils.

The Institute invited the teaching faculty and research scholars of Sanskrit and Tamil to present papers in the following categories : Religion, Philosophy, Technical literature/Arts /Architecture, Literature, Translation, Modern Sanskrit Literature (19-20 Century A.D.). These sessions were chaired by the following scholars respectively:

Dr. S. Aruna Sundaram, Prof. of Vyākaraṇa, The Madras Sanskrit College, Chennai.

Dr. V. Suparna, Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai.

Dr. O.R.Devanathan, Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Chennai.

Prof. C.R.Anantharaman, Former Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, R.K.M.Vivekananda College, Chennai.

Dr. R. Ramachandran, Prof. of Sanskrit, R.K.M.Vivekananda College, Chennai.

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Dr. S. Venugopalan, Asso. Prof. & Head, Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Culture, SCSVMV University, Enathur.

The seminar was inaugurated by Swami Paramasukhanandaji Maharaj (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Chennai) and the Key-note address was delivered by Dr. R.Thiagarajan (Former Prof. and Head, Dept.of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Chennai). Both of them referred to the service rendered by Tamil Nadu to the development of Sanskrit from the Saṅgam Age.

Dr. S.Padmanabhan (Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Chennai) in his Valedictory Address pointed out that in the earlier times scholars never bothered about religion, region, colour or caste when they were involved in deep research and also insisted that these differences should be overcome by the scholars in order to understand the significance of our Culture and Heritage.

The Valedictory function of the Bhimaratha Mahotsava – 70th Anniversary Celebrations of the Institute was held on 25th February, 2017. Sri M.K. Narayanan, Former Governor of West Bengal presided and delivered the Valedictory address. Tracing out the importance of Sanskrit through the ages and the seventy year service of the Institute to the cause of Sanskrit he concluded his speech stating that "it is for premier institutions like the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute to provide a lead in terms of a Sanskrit revival. Officialdom in India has not succeeded in making much progress despite the Sanskrit Commission Report of 1957 and the 1968 Educational Policy. Both underlined the special importance to be attached to Sanskrit in the growth and development of other Indian languages, as also its contribution to the cultural unity of India. I fervently hope that the 70th Anniversary Celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute will see the beginning of a new dawn in the revival of Sanskrit and as regards its future progress."

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He also released the text "*Śrī Pādukāsahasram*" of Śrī Vedānta Deśika. This publication of the *Pādukāsahasra* by our Institute is unique for the reason that it is formed in three different languages. The original text in Sanskrit is followed by its Tamil trans-composition by Sri Kesava Ayyengar and English translation and notes by Sri D. Ramaswami Iyengar. It is quite interesting to note how the translators had enjoyed the poem as much as the original writer himself. As one goes through the entire composition and the translations, one can feel that the translators have also become *pādukā-sevakas* just as Deśika himself was.

Sri K. Parasaran, Former Attorney General, Govt. of India, received the first copy and spoke about the values of the book, appreciating the Tamil rendering and English translation.

Being celebrated for more than a year the **Bhimaratha Mahotsava of the Institute** came to a fitting close. The **70th Anniversary Celebrations** is a memorable event in the history of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute through which the scholarly world paid homage to the great stalwart Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

The present bumper issue of the *Journal of Oriental Research* (Vols. 88-90) carries articles from scholars all over the world who were requested specifically to contribute for this special volume. In addition, special addresses delivered by invitees and some of the papers presented during the **70th Anniversary Celebrations** have also been included. The articles cover various branches of Sanskrit learning, thereby making the reader be aware of the magnitude of the language and its literature.

The major part of the expenditure of this publications is from 'Dr. V. Raghavan Memorial Endowment' created by his family members, especially for the continuous publication of the Journal. Our thanks are due to them.

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Our special thanks to all the scholars across the world who responded positively to our request to contribute to this special volume.

Ms. Lavanya. V. Eswar, Asst. Prof. of the Institute, assisted the Editorial Committee in source-checking and proof-reading.

Ms. M. Srividhya and Ms. J. Alamelu deserve our appreciation for typing the entire text of the Journal and made it print-ready.

Sri Harish Printers are to be thanked for the neat printing and nice get-up.

Chennai
25.12.2017

V. Kameswari
Director

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JURISPRUDENTIAL PRINCIPLES IN DHARMAŚĀSTRAS*

JUSTICE R.V. EASWARAN

The history of the Indian legal system except in the last few centuries is almost exclusively outlined by Sanskrit. These were principles which today are well-known not only to the members of the judiciary - the judges and the lawyers – but also to an inquisitive mind which demands to know why judges decide one way or the other. The *Vyavahāra dharma* is a body of principles which expounds the ancient Indian legal and judicial systems. One of the first principles which was declared by the Dharmaśāstras was that any law was binding not only on the citizens but also on the King. He could claim no immunity. Today, we know this principle by this statement in English: "Be you ever so high, the law is above you".

There are several sources of law. Some of them, so far as India is concerned, are the Vedas or Śrutis and the Smṛtis. Then came the commentaries and digests of the legal principles which were called the Nibandhas. The legal literature also consists of Dharma Sūtras and Mīmāmsā (interpretation). Apart from these, there are other works such as Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and *Śukranītisāra*. Justice Rama Jois is of the view that both our epics – the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* – "constitute a treasure house and source of authoritative exposition of several topics of law, particularly the latter". Needless to add that all these were in Sanskrit. The *Manusmṛti* – parts of which are now mired in some controversy or the other – is in Sanskrit. The contribution of these sources of the law is immense and they brought order to the

* Special Address delivered at the Inauguration of the 70th year Celebrations of the Institute on 29.10.2015.

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society without the need of any policing or compulsion, for there is incontrovertible evidence in our history to show that these principles were voluntarily complied with and it was rare that there would be a breach inviting punishment.

The un-codified or Sastraic Hindu law – not the Hindu law which we know today under the codified legislation of 1956 – was the collective effort of Vijñāneśvara who wrote the commentary Mitākṣara on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti,* and thus set the Mitākṣara school of law and Jīmūtavāhana who enunciated the principles of the Dāyabhāga school which is followed only in Bengal. Cases abound in the law reports, particularly those dealing with questions arising under this branch of law, where the judges have drawn copiously from the original Sanskrit texts to find a solution to the intricate questions arising under Hindu Law. It is believed that Vijñāneśvara hailed from the southern part of India. But his commentary stood unquestionably accepted in all parts of the country except in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga school of Hindu law prevailed. Both the Mitākṣara and Dāyabhāga systems apply even today where the codified Hindu Law does not contain any specific provision to deal with the question. The judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court in their judgments have justified this by recourse to Art.372 of the Constitution of India which saves all laws existing on the date of coming into force of the Constitution. Thus, those Sanskrit commentaries have even survived legislation! Not only that, even during the Muhammadan rule in the country, the Smṛti law continued to be fully recognised and enforced and this is clear from the fact that Dalapati wrote an encyclopaedic work on the Dharmaśāstra called the *Nṛsimha-prasāda* in the 16th century and Toḍarmal, the finance minister in Akbar's court, compiled a comprehensive work on civil and religious law known as *Toḍarānanda.* According to Prof. Kane, several topics of judicial procedure such as the duty of the King to look into disputes, the duty of the Sabha, the judge, meaning of the term *vyavahāra,* its time and place, the plaint, the reply or written statement, superiority of one proof over the other, witnesses,

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documents, possession, inference, oaths, grades of punishment and fines and such things were dealt with in *Vyavahārasaṅkhyā*. The Dharmaśāstras dealt with the religious and moral law as well as civil and criminal law and contained edicts to the Kings. The Smṛti writers were however aware of the distinction between Vyavahāra or the law the breach of which resulted in judicial proceedings and the law in its widest and abstract sense.

That the Vyavahāra law was secular in its character is shown by the fact that the Smṛtis repeatedly declare that customs and usage must be enforced and that they over-rule or supplement the Smṛti rules. The Smṛtis recognised usage and custom as an over-riding or residual body of positive law, prompting a prominent author to remark, in his commentary on *Manusmṛti* that the Smṛtis were only codification of the usage and custom of virtuous men. The *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* says that the science of law, like grammar, is based upon usage and custom.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, according to Sir S. Varadachariar, an eminent judge of the Madras High Court and later the Federal Court, though it spoke of '*artha*', that is, wealth, it was always regarded as part of the Hindu legal literature, but subject to the Dharmaśāstras. It was some kind of a 'special legislation' as the direct and indirect tax enactments of today. But the Dharmaśāstras and the *Arthaśāstra* were agreed on this point, namely, that the King was the fountain of justice. Including the Chief Judge who presided over the King's court, which was the court of the ultimate resort (like our Supreme Court) there were four courts – the other three being *Pūga, Śreṇī* and *Kula* which had jurisdiction to decide all law suits, except violent crimes. The exalted place occupied by the Smṛtis in the judicial system can be gauged by the fact that Nārada, one of the authors, says that the Smṛtis were actually treated as 'members' of the King's court.

Bṛhaspati pithily refers to four sources of Vyavahāra law: (i) Dharma – moral law or law of justice, equity and good conscience; (ii) Vyavahāra – civil law as laid down in the Smṛtis; (iii) Cāritra –

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customs and usages and (iv) Rājaśāsana – King's ordinances. Each preceding source gives way to the succeeding source. Thus Dharma, the rules of equity gives way to Vyavahāra which is the positive law, which gives way to Cāritra, the customs and usages and all the three give way to Rājaśāsana, the King's ordinances or edicts.

At some point of time the long line of eminent persons who wrote the Smṛtis came to an end and thereafter their texts were expounded and explained by other men, equally learned, in their commentaries or digests. The role of original texts and their commentaries came to be scrutinised by the Privy Council as long back as in 1880, in a case which is referred to by Justice Rama Jois in his book on *Indian Legal and Constitutional History* as Pedda Ramappa *vs.* Bangari Seshamma. It would appear that there was a conflict between the original text and the commentaries and the question arose as to which should be preferred. The Privy Council ruled that original texts were very ancient, but the commentaries which were written later were in conformity with the local practices and wisdom and hence should be preferred.

Though the language of the Hindu Dharmaśāstras was Sanskrit, it is remarkable that the English judges took keen interest in understanding the texts and commentaries and their contribution to the growth of law in an organised form in India was significant. In one of the earliest judgments in 1884 the Privy Council lamented about their lack of knowledge of Sanskrit and the dependence on translations; nevertheless, they took pains to ensure that they faithfully adhered to the original texts or the commentaries depending upon the facts and circumstances of the case before them. The contribution of the English judges in this behalf, driven by their mastery over jurisprudential concepts and unmatched forensic skills, despite their handicap, has come in for high praise by Mulla, one of our greatest lawyers and a judge of eminence, whose treatise on Hindu Law is considered by the legal fraternity as a classic on the subject. One instance of English judges taking interest in Sanskrit is

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that of Sir William Jones who came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court which in those days was in Calcutta. He was so fascinated by Sanskrit that in six years he learnt it so well that he is said to have managed to translate *Śākuntalam* to English!

The law contained in the ancient Smṛtis, Śrutis and Dharmaśāstras– all in Sanskrit – was detailed and dealt with every situation. Those basic principles have not changed and several of them are found reflected in modern-day legislation in India. John D. Mayne, the distinguished author of the treatise on Hindu Law says that it is "plain that the earliest Sanskrit writings evidence a state of the law, which, allowing for the lapse of time, is the natural antecedent of that which now exists". Provisions which have stood the test of time and are incorporated in the present day statute-law include the field of Contracts, Evidence, Surety or Guarantee, Procedure for trial of civil and criminal cases, taxation, defamation, mortgages, gifts, adoptions, partition, succession both testamentary and intestate and so on – the list is endless.

Any reference to the contribution of Sanskrit to the field of law in ancient India, which is still relevant, will not be complete without a reference to the Mīmāmsā principles or rules of interpretation of the law. Very often courts are faced with ambiguous provisions in the enactment which need to be given a meaning best suited to solve the issue before them. The practice in courts is to take guidance from Anglo-Saxon rules of interpretation from books authored by eminent authors such as Maxwell, Craies, Sutherland and the like. Much earlier to these books, in our country we had the Mīmāmsā principles of interpretation which were regularly used to interpret our Sanskrit texts or commentaries in case of conflict or ambiguity. These rules were used by authors of commentaries of *Mitākṣara* and *Dāyabhāga* which became later prominent schools of Hindu law. Sage Jaimini is credited with laying down the Mīmāmsā rules of interpretation as far back as in 500 BC in the form of '*Sūtras*' written in Sanskrit; commentaries were stated to have been written on it by Āpastamba, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara who were contemporaries of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya of the 8th century A.D.

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It is said that Jaimini's rules were known as 'Pūrva Mīmāmsā' and Vedantic rules were known as 'Uttara Mīmāmsā'. Justice Markandey Katju, a former judge of the Supreme Court, holds the view that these rules were rational and scientific and were superior to the rules expressed by the English authors mainly in two respects: (i) they can be used to interpret not only statutes (enacted law) but also judgments (judge-made law) and (ii) they are said to be more detailed and systematic compared to the rules suggested by the English authors.

One of the earliest references to the Mīmāmsā rules of interpretation is to be found in the judgment of an English judge, Sir John Edge, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court in Beni Prasad *vs* Hardai Bibi delivered in 1892 by a Full Bench headed by the learned Chief Justice. The Mīmāmsā rules fascinated Englishmen such as Colebroke, Col. Jacob and Mandlik who did pioneering work in them, but apparently were not encouraged, allegedly because the British Government did not want to encourage to prominence the native works – it was obviously not in their interest ! Legal pundits rate the Tagore Law lectures delivered by Kishorilal Sarkar in 1905 as one of the finest expositions of the Mīmāmsā rules of interpretation. It is said that there is striking similarity between the purposive or intention-based rule of interpretation followed frequently by that great English judge Lord Denning and the *Liṅga, Vākya* and *Prakaraṇa* principles of interpretation of the Mīmāmsā school. In India, courts while interpreting the Constituion, have in several decisions applied the approach based on the intention of the Constitution-makers though without express reference to the Mīmāmsā rules. The *Liṅga* rule of interpretation of Mīmāmsā rules means the suggestive power of the words which should govern the interpretation. In a case before the Supreme Court of India, where the words 'landless persons' came up for interpretation, it was held that it referred only to landless farmers and not landless businessmen. This decision can be supported by the *Liṅga* rule or the purposive approach.

All this is not to advocate the indiscriminate application of Mīmāmsā principles in the interpretation of laws by the courts and tribunals in India.

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The counter-point is forcefully put forth by Justice Srikrishna, former judge of the Supreme Court in an article catchily titled "Maxwell *vs.* Mīmāmsā" reported in (2004) 6 SCC (Jour.) 49. He does not question their merit or the validity of those principles today. In a well-articulated article beset with examples by way of decided cases, the learned judge administers caution in the attempts to apply the Mīmāmsā rules for several reasons, the first and foremost of which is the lack of knowledge of Sanskrit language among lawyers and judges. He advocates the theory that lawyers and judges should become well-versed in Sanskrit and its grammar first before applying the Mīmāmsā rules and this process should go on for at least two decades before those rules are actually applied to the interpretation of Indian laws, in preference to the Anglo-Saxon rules of interpretation. His article makes out an excellent case for Sanskrit language being made as part of the curriculum of legal studies in law schools, a thought which was strongly put forth by Swami Vivekananda who wanted millions to be spent "to bring Sanskrit education to all the castes of India"; he considered Sanskrit education to represent ... "the secret power in India". "Sanskrit and prestige go together in India", Swamiji proclaimed. How many prestigious law schools in India will pay heed to his call?

Whenever the need arose, the courts in India have stood by Sanskrit. I will give only two examples. In the case of Santosh Kumar & ors. *vs* Secretary decided in 1994, the Supreme Court considered the question whether the offering of Sanskrit as one of the electives by the CBSE would offend the principle of secularism, which is one of the basic structures on which the Constitution of India rests. The argument advanced on behalf of the Government was that if Sanskrit was offered as an elective, languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Lepcha should also be offered or else the principle of secularism would be offended. The Court drew liberally from the report of the Sanskrit Commission of 1957 and recalled Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that Sanskrit was India's "greatest treasure and finest heritage". The argument of the Government

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was turned down. Justice Subramani of the Madras High Court in Bal Sewa Educational Trust vs Govt. of TN decided in 1998 that a college of engineering run by Sanskrit-minority people was entitled to be affiliated and approved, rejecting the argument of the State that Sanskrit was a "dead language". The learned judge in the course of his judgments has referred to the extensive tours undertaken by the Bench to ascertain the public's views about Sanskrit which make very interesting reading.

What is the status of Sanskrit in the Constitution of India? In an interesting debate in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed, a distinguished member of the Constituent Assembly lamented that Sanskrit was revered all over the world, except in India, as a language of unrivalled richness and purity and suggested that it be adopted as the national language. He also gave a peculiar reason for his suggestion: he said that Sanskrit is "impartially difficult to all", though it is the "grandest and greatest" of languages! Pandit Laxmi Kant Maitra, another distinguished member made an impassioned plea for making Sanskrit the national language with the punch-line: "If Sanskrit is dead may I say that Sanskrit is ruling us from her grave? Nobody can get away from Sanskrit in India".

Sanskrit however did not make it as the national language, but was placed in the 8th Schedule to the Constitution. The effect of this, read with Art. 344(1) was that members representing Sanskrit will form part of a Commission, along with members representing other languages placed in the Schedule. This however means nothing in favour of Sanskrit or any language placed in the 8th Schedule other than Hindi because Art. 344(2) (a) hurriedly mandates the Commission to make recommendations to the President of India for the progressive use of Hindi as the official language for the purposes of the Union. Art.351 provides for a directive for the development of Hindi language. It directs the Union to promote Hindi as the medium of the country but by assimilating (without losing its genius) the forms, styles and expressions of all languages mentioned in the 8th Schedule and to draw "primarily" from Sanskrit for its vocabulary.

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ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECOLOGICAL AWARENESS IN ANCIENT INDIA*

JUSTICE P. JYOTHIMANI

Environmental crisis is a huge problem for the whole world, be it developed or developing countries and the most debated topic of the century to find solution to these crises. Everybody will agree that there exists an urgent need for environmental awareness to re-establish the broken link between modern man and Nature and that is how the topic chosen for this national seminar becomes significant when the environmental degradation in the form of deforestation, insanitation etc. combined with water, air and noise pollution is posing a serious threat not only to the quality of life, but also to the basic survival of human beings.

Today, we are crying for a clean and a better environment to live in; but unfortunately we are not looking back to the centuries old Vedic literature that had established a way of living that was in tune with Nature and its surroundings. We neglected the instructions in the scriptures that prescribed acts for avoiding environmental pollution either out of total ignorance of the scriptures or out of incapacity to follow the real intentions of the authors. It is remarkable that the people in Vedic times have regarded conservation of environment in a holistic manner and dealt with each of its components separately for preserving them. Much importance was given to the five elements that ancient man believed to be constituting the universe namely

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* Inaugural Address of the seminar on "Environmental and Ecological Awareness in Ancient India" held at the Institute on 08.07.2016.

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earth, water, fire, air and space. In fact our ancient system of life perceives presence of God in the form of Nature. God is *Brahman* which is the Ultimate. The air is His breath, trees are the hairs of His body, ocean His waist, hills and mountains are His bones, rivers are the veins of the Cosmic being and His movements are the passing of ages; that is how the holy scripture Bhāgavata describes *Brahman*. It is high time to realise that most of the present natural disasters including global warming to a large extent are attributed to human negligence in protection of free environment. It includes uncontrolled technical growth without anticipating damage which may occur in the process and finding out solution.

If environment means surrounding circumstances, ecology means individual requirements or requirements of association of species and their limits of tolerance in relation to environmental factors. Therefore, the protection is for the benefit of both the natural environment and humans.

Planting of trees were considered to be of paramount importance and cutting of trees were considered as a sin. Vedas advice that if one wants to enjoy the fruits and happiness of life for hundreds of years, then he should take up systematic planting of trees. The need of afforestation is beautifully made out in a *sūkta* (VII.35) in *Ṛgveda*.

Special importance was attached to the animal sanctuaries called as '*abhayāraṇya' or abhayavana*'' which implies 'forests free from fear'. Just this one verse in *Atharva veda* (12.1.12) encompasses the whole environmental preservation in simplest terms माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः। पर्जन्यः पिता स उ नः पिपर्तु ।। which means "Earth is my mother, I am her son; Parjanya (western) is my father, May he Promote me". By this prayer our ancestors tell us not to harm the environment, the water and the flora, so that these remain fresh and tranquillity is maintained in the atmosphere,

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the crops and vegetation. It was not only Veda, but also Upaniṣads, Itihāsas and other ancient scriptures, had taken note of the need for environmental protection to lead a peaceful life.

Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* prescribed punishment on violators of environment which is as follows:

For throwing dirt on the road the fine (shall be) one-eighth (of a *paṇa*), for blocking it with muddy water, one quarter. On the royal highway, (the fines shall be) double. Fines for voiding faeces in a holy place, in a place for water, in a temple and in royal property are one *paṇa*, half these for passing urine.[1]

The ancient Tamil saint Tiruvaḷḷuvar has also spoken about the importance of environment in few of his couplets. Justice S.Maharajan in his book titled *The Inner Meaning of Human History* quotes the concept of environment as explained by Tiruvaḷḷuvar as follows:

"In the age-long controversy between environment and heredity, he threw his weight in support of environment. He believed a man owes the growth of his personality to the environment in which he lives rather than to the genes he has inherited".

Tiruvaḷḷuvar in the 452nd couplet says :

நிலத்தியல்பால் நீர் திரிந்தற்றாகும் மாந்தர்க்கு
இனத்தியல்ப தாகும் அறிவு

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1 *Arthaśāstra*, II. 36.26-8:
पांसुन्यासे रथ्यायामष्टभागो दण्डः, पङ्कोदकसंनिरोधे पादः । राजमार्गे द्विगुणः ।
पुण्यस्थानोदकस्थानदेवगृहराजपरिग्रहेषु पणोत्तरा विष्ठादण्डाः, मूत्रेष्वर्धदण्डाः।

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"Even as water takes on the nature of the soil through which it flows, men take on the wisdom of the environment in which they live".

In modern world, due to advancement in technology, man's craving for luxurious life has deteriorated the environment to the fullest extent far beyond the carrying capacity so that it can no longer repair by itself. It is high time that we go back to the ancient life style giving paramount importance to the environment we live in. We have a great obligation to deliver clean air, water and land to the future generations of our country by mending our ways.

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COMMENTARY TO TEXT AND TEXT TO COMMENTARY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIVĀHA RITUALS

S.Ramaratnam

Introduction

Commentaries have played a stellar role in expounding the Śāstras and Kāvyas in Sanskrit literature. The Sūtra texts, particularly are so compressed and complex that one cannot understand even the basic meaning of the text without a commentary. The compressed style of the Sūtra texts, in fact, gives abundant scope for various interpretations. Thus the *Brahmasūtra* is interpreted from the point of view of Advaita by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, of Viśiṣṭādvaita by Śrī Rāmānujācārya and of Dvaita by Śrī Madhvācārya. Some of the grammatical *sūtras* of Pāṇini consist of a single syllable; without the help of the *vārttika*, they are unintelligible. Some of the commentaries are so popular that they almost become independent texts. One can cite the instance of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārttika* which is actually a commentary on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāmsā text. Some of the commentators try to excel the original work itself by their innovative interpretation. With a tinge of humour it is said – *vyākhyātā vetti, kavirvetti vā na vā* – the commentator knows, but it is doubtful whether the original poet himself knew it or not. With reference to English literature also it is said that if Shakespeare were to come alive now he will have to read Bradley to understand his own plays. An original text may have a *ṭīkā*, commentary, but the *ṭīkā* itself may have a *ṭūkā*, commentary on the commentary. Therefore, the *ṭīkā* becomes the text for the *ṭūkā*. Thus we have a case of transition from commentary to text. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya wrote a

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commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* ; the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* became the text for the commentary of Padmapāda (a direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya) called *Pañcapādikā*; then *Pañcapādikā* became the text for the *Vivaraṇa* composed by Prakāśātman. Another direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, Maṇḍana Miśra wrote a work called *Brahmasiddhi.* It was commented upon by Vācaspatimiśra who wrote *Brahma-tattva-samīkṣā.* He also wrote a commentary on *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, called *Bhāmatī.* We have several such instances of a commentary being transformed into a text by a later writer who wrote a commentary for the commentary.

Now the next question is – whether a text can become a commentary? Strictly speaking, it cannot; a text is a text; it can never become a commentary. But portions of a text can throw so much light on a tradition that it will function, more or less like a commentary on the tradition. One can understand the tradition much better through the text just as one can understand a text much better through its commentary. For example, Yāska's *Nirukta* is an independent text, but in the course of the discussion on etymology, the author quotes a number of Vedic stanzas and explains them. These portions serve as commentary on the Vedas. The *dvisandhāna kāvyas* are, for that matter, a commentary on themselves. One can consider them as double-text or a text plus a commentary rolled into one. The *Bhaṭṭikāvya* may be considered as a text as well as a commentary on Grammar. The *Prabodha-candrodaya* and the *Caitanya-candrodaya* are dramas as well as expositions on Vedānta.

On a careful examination one may see that the Sanskrit Kāvyas contain a lot of material on rituals. We may see that the references to Gṛhya rituals in the Kāvyas are very useful in understanding the growth and development of the ritual practices. The commentaries on the Kāvyas are also helpful in this respect. In a way, we can say that the Kāvyas themselves act as commentaries for the ritual texts. We will see some instances here, dealing with marriage-rituals.

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The Fire-ritual

Rituals are obligatory. Their performance may not bring in any fresh benefits, but their non-performance will result in sin. This idea is referred to in *Uttararāmacarita*. That is why even *sannyāsins* continue to perform rituals (I.8):

किंत्वनुष्ठाननित्यत्वं स्वातन्त्र्यमपकर्षति ।

Kālidāsa not only makes a mention of a number of Gṛhya rituals but also gives minute details regarding their performance. They serve as a valuable guide to the study the development of the rituals over a period of time. For example, the poet stresses on the importance of the fire-ritual while referring to the healthy practices adopted by the kings of the Raghu dynasty (*Raghuvamśa* (*Raghu.*), I.6):

यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनाम् ।
यथापराधदण्डानां यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ।।

Mallinātha says that the epithets in each quarter of the verse refer to the four responsibilities of the rulers, that is, sacrifices to the Gods, hospitality towards the suppliants, corrective measures taken against the guilty and vigilance on duties towards the subjects – चतुर्भिः विशेषणैः – देवतायजन–अतिथिसत्कार–दण्डधरत्व–प्रजापालनसमय जागरूकत्वादीनि विवक्षितानि ।।

It may be noted that the commentator also puts the performance of the rituals as the first and foremost duty of the rulers, as the poet does. The oblations into the sacred fire as stated by the poet in the first quarter of the verse is significant since majority of the rituals consist of fire sacrifice as its component. In fact, the *Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* insists on fire sacrifice in all the rituals. Thus Kālidāsa's expression, *yathāvidhi-hutāgnīnām*, supports this tradition.

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The sacred fires should neither be extinguished nor allowed to get extinguished. If for some reason, it is extinguished, a separate ritual called *vichhinna-agnisamdhāna* should be performed and the fire should be revived. We have an indirect reference to it in the first Act of *Pañcarātra* of Bhāsa.

Though the fire itself is pure, the one raised for funeral rites is considered to be impure and hence it should not be used for other rituals. We have a reference to this practice in *Mṛcchakaṭika* (VI.16):

एककार्यनियोगेऽपि नानयोस्तुल्यशीलता ।
विवाहे च चितायां च यथा हुतभुजोर्द्वयोः ।।

Vivāha or the Wedding Ritual

Vivāha or the wedding is the most important one among the rituals and hence the Gṛhya texts describe the ritual elaborately. The references in the Kāvyas amplify the rules given in the ritual texts.

The ritual texts speak about eight forms of marriage but in practice, one more got added. It is *svayamvara* or self choice by a girl of the royal dynasty. After the choice is made, the rituals should follow according to the rules. The solemnising of the wedding before the sacred fire is mandatory as we see with reference to the wedding of Aja and Indumatī (*Raghu.* VII.20):

तत्रार्चितो भोजपतेः पुरोधा हुत्वाग्निमाज्यादिभिरग्निकल्पः ।
तमेव चाधाय विवाहसाक्ष्ये वधूवरौ सङ्गमयाञ्चकार ।।

(i) The *pāṇigrahaṇa* is one of the most important rituals in the wedding. Kālidāsa's reference to it confirms the practice. One may be reminded of the *pāṇim gṛhṇīṣva pāṇinā* scene from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as we read this verse of Kālidāsa (*Raghu.* VII.21):

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हस्तेन हस्तं परिगृह्य वध्वाः स राजसूनुः सुतरां चकाशे ।
अनन्तराशोकलताप्रवालं प्राप्येव चूतः प्रतिपल्लवेन ।।

The *pānigrahaṇa* scene described by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava* (*KS*) is a good commentary on the Gṛhya tradition. During the ritual, the bride will hold the fingers together upward like a lotus bud and the bridegroom will close his own fingers over those of the bride. The poet particularly refers to the holding of the bride's fingers which is significantly connected to the tradition (*KS.* VII.76):

तस्याः करं शैलगुरूपनीतं जग्राह ताम्राङ्गुलिमष्टमूर्तिः ।
उमातनौ गूढतनोः स्मरस्य तच्छङ्किनः पूर्वमिव प्ररोहम् ।।

A reference to the wearing of a bracelet as a mark of the *pāṇigrahaṇa* ritual of the wedding is made in the play *Uttararāmacarita* (*URC.* III.39).

(ii) Circumambulation of the sacred fire is prescribed in the ritual texts. Kālidāsa amplifies it with poetic charm (*KS.* VII.79):

प्रदक्षिणप्रक्रमणात्कृशानोरुदर्चिषस्तन्मिथुनं चकासे ।
मेरोरुपान्तेष्विव वर्तमानमन्योन्यसंसक्तमहस्त्रियामम् ।।

Śrīharṣa describes the same ritual in his own inimitable style. Earlier the Fire God had tried to win the hands of Damayantī. But he was disappointed as she had chosen Nala. By going round the fire, Nala and Damayantī seemed to appease the Fire God (*Naiṣadha*, 16.35):

करग्रहे वाम्यमधत्त यस्तयोः प्रसाद्य भैम्यानु च दक्षिणीकृतः ।।
कृतः पुरस्कृत्य ततो नलेन स प्रदक्षिणस्तत्क्षणमाशुशुक्षणिः ।।

(iii) Referring to the *aśmārohaṇa* (stone ritual), Śrīharṣa says that it was superfluous in the case of Damayantī (the ritual symbolizes the firm resolve a girl should have in observing chastity). Has she not firmly

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rejected even Indra and stuck to her resolve of choosing only Nala? (*Naiṣadha*,16.36):

स्थिरा त्वमश्मेव भवेति मन्त्रवागनेशदाशास्य किमाशु ताम् ह्रिया ।
शिला चलेत्प्रेरणया नृणामपि स्थितेस्तु नाचालि बिडौजसापि सा ।।

(iv) According to a tradition which exists even today in many parts of India, the ends of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom have to be tied. Accordingly the priest tied the ends of Damayantī's skirt and Nala's scarf [1]. It symbolizes that the husband and the wife are united together in life and that they should never part with each other. This is referred to in the verse below (*Naisadha*, 16.37):

प्रियांशुकग्रन्थिनिबद्धवाससं तदा पुरोधा विदधे विदर्भजाम् ।
जगाद विच्छिद्य पटं प्रयास्यतो नलादविश्वासमिवैष विश्ववित् ।।

(v) During the *saptapadī* rite, the husband declares his wife to be his equal partner, his friend, philosopher and guide (*Āpastamba Mantrapāṭha*,1.3.14). Kālidāsa indirectly refers to the concept in the context of Aja's wedding with Indumatī (*Raghu*. VIII. 67):

गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।

(vi) Similarly the *lājahoma* scene, described by Kālidāsa, conforms to the tradition (*Raghu*. VII.25):

नितम्बगुर्वी गुरुणा प्रयुक्ता वधूर्विधातृप्रतिमेन तेन ।
चकार सा मत्तचकोरनेत्रा लज्जावती लाजविसर्गमग्नौ ।।

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1 With a touch of oxymoron, the poet says that in spite of this agreement, Nala would abandon her in future. Though Nala and Damayantī lived happily for a long time after their wedding, they underwent untold sufferings in the later part of their life. Nala who lost his kingdom had to depart to the forest. Damayantī also accompanied him. Fearing that he may leave her, she used to tie up his garment with hers while sleeping at night. At one stage Nala cutting off his garment left her alone with the hope that she would somehow reach her parents and be safe.

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The three time circumambulation of the sacred fire and the *lājahoma* are also described by Kālidāsa in *KS* (VII.80):

तौ दम्पती त्रिः परिणीय वह्निमन्योन्यसंस्पर्शनिमीलिताक्षौ ।
स कारयामास वधूं पुरोधास्तस्मिन्समिद्धार्चिषि लाजमोक्षम् ।।

Describing the *lājahoma*, Śrīharṣa says (*Naiṣadha*,16.40) :

प्रसूनता तत्करपल्लवस्थितैरुडुच्छविर्व्योमविहारिभिः पथि ।
मुखेऽमराणामनले रदावलेरभाजि लाजैरनयोज्झितैर्द्युतिः ।।

'As the rice flakes were dropped into the fire, they looked like flowers dropping from the leaf of the hands of Damayantī. As they fell into the fire they appeared like the stars. Once in the fire they looked like the row of teeth of the gods'.

(vii) Gazing at the *dhruva* star is observed on the evening of the wedding day and the bride should reply by saying that she has seen the star. Kālidāsa does not fail to make a mention of it (*KS*.VII. 85):

ध्रुवेण भर्त्रा ध्रुवदर्शनाय प्रयुज्यमाना प्रियदर्शनेन ।
सा दृष्ट इत्याननमुन्नमय्य ह्रीसन्नकण्ठी कथमप्युवाच ।।

The *dhruva darśana*, ritual has another part. The husband would also point out to the Arundhatī star[2] and ask his wife whether she is able

2 Arundhatī was the consort of Sage Vasiṣṭha and she was a very chaste lady. A star was named after her and during the wedding the star is shown to the bride. The idea is that she should also be as chaste as Arundhatī. It is a tiny star and it may not be visible at all. The poet Śrīharṣa gives his own reason out of his imagination. The star got reduced to such a small invisible atom, perhaps out of shame before Damayantī who had spurned even Indra, demonstrating her chaste love towards Nala (*Naiṣadha*,16.39):

धवेन सादर्शि वधूररुन्धतीं सतीमिमां पश्य गतामिवाणुताम् ।
कृतस्य पूर्वं हृदि भूपतेः कृते तृणीकृतस्वर्गपतेर्जनादिति ।।

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to see it. She should reply by saying that she has seen. Anticipating the problem that the star may not be visible sometimes, one of the ritual texts says that even if the star is not visible the wife should say that she has seen it. Śrīharṣa says that, respecting the tradition, Damayantī also replied by saying that she had seen the star (*Naiṣadha*, 16.38):

ध्रुवावलोकाय तदुन्मुखभ्रुवा निर्दिश्य पत्याभिदधे विदर्भजा ।
किमस्य न स्यादणिमाक्षिसाक्षिकस्तथापि तथ्यो महिमागमोदितः ।।

The ritual of star gazing has to be done only in the night. But for practical reasons, in the present day, it is performed during the day itself, in a symbolic way. Probably the practice had set in during Śrīharṣa's time itself and so he places it before the *lājahoma*.

(viii) Conjugal love is fundamental to human life and so the nuptials form a part of the wedding ritual. The Gṛhyasūtras say that the husband and wife should unite happily for begetting *dharmaprajāḥ*, that is, children steeped in morals and values. Exemplifying this concept, Kālidāsa says that the kings of the Raghu dynasty enjoyed conjugal love for begetting *dharmaprajāḥ*, suggesting that they were not running after mere physical pleasures (*Raghu.* I.7):

त्यागाय संभृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
यशसे विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ।।

Mallinātha derives the word *gṛhamedhinaḥ as* – गृहैः धारैः मेधन्ते सङ्गच्छन्त इति गृहमेधिनः । दारेष्वपि गृहाः पुंसि इत्यमरः। जाया च गृहिणी गृहम् इति हलायुधः . . . परोपकारित्वं सत्यवचनत्वं यशःपरत्वं पितॄणां शुद्धत्वं च विवक्षितानि ।।

Preliminaries to the Wedding Rituals

The wedding used to be a five day affair even till the middle of the last century. The preliminaries are observed on the first day, formal

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invitation to the bridegroom on the second day, main wedding ritual on the third day, austerities are observed on the fourth day and the concluding rituals on the fifth day.

(i) Mother Worship: Worship of the holy mothers is prescribed in the later ritual texts. They were perhaps in the tradition as a folk ritual and therefore not recorded in the original Gṛhyasūtras. There are two forms of it. One is the worship of the mother divinities and the other is the worship of the departed mothers of the family who died before their husbands. In both the cases, there is a practice of offering the *bali* or the offering. Food will be served on the leaves meant for them. Others will partake food only after it is served to the mothers.

There is a reference to the offering of *bali* to the mother divinities at the public square in *Mṛcchakaṭika* (passage after I.15). It is added that offering of *bali* at the public square is supposed to bring in special benefits to the performer. Mother divinities are pleased with penance, devotion in the mind, praises and oblations (*Mṛcchakaṭika* , I.16).

तपसा मनसा वाग्भिः पूजिता बलिकर्मभिः ।
तुष्यन्ति शमिनां नित्यं देवताः किं विचारितैः ॥

The *mātaraḥ*, mothers, are so called since they are worshipped – '*mānyante pūjyante iti mātaraḥ*'. The names of the mother divinities as referred to in the later Nibandhas are: *Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumarī* and *Cāmuṇḍā*.[3]

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3 *Samskāra Kaustabha*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1913, p.31:
ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारि वैष्णवी तथा ।
वाराही चैव चेन्द्राणी चामुण्डा सप्त मातरः ॥
Cf. Amarakośa, I.1.35, Oriental Agency, Poona, 1941

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(ii) *Pratisarabandha* or *Kautukabandhana* is one of the preliminary rituals; threads soaked in a paste of turmeric powder are tied to the hands of the bride and the bridegroom. It is symbolic of the vow of binding that the couple would observe all the rituals and would not transgress the rules.

This is performed by the father. But Kālidāsa says that the mother tied it to her daughter, Pārvatī. This must have been a local tradition that belonged to Kālidāsa's place during his times (*KS.* VII.25):

बबन्ध चास्राकुलदृष्टिरस्याः स्थानान्तरे कल्पितसन्निवेशम् ।
धात्र्यङ्गुलीभिः प्रतिसार्यमाणमूर्णामयं कौतुकहस्तसूत्रम् ॥

Normally it is only a criminal who gets handcuffed for his offence. What offence did Nala and Damayantī commit? Why should their hands be tied? Applying his imaginative skill, Śrīharṣa says that Nala had committed the offence of killing a large number of his enemies (a merit is presented as a defect) and Damayantī's hands had stolen the beauty of the lotuses and hence their hands were tied (*Naiṣadha*,16.14):

वरस्य पाणिः परघातकौतुकी वधूकरः पङ्कजकान्तितस्करः ।
सुराज्ञि तौ तत्र विदर्भमण्डले ततो निबद्धौ किमु कर्कशैः कुशैः ॥

Daṇḍin also refers to *pratisarabandha* in *Daśakumāracarita* (Vāvilla edition, p.72).

Subsidiary Rituals of the Wedding

(i) While selecting a bride groom for a bride or vice versa, who should make the first move? Probably it changed according to the demographic equation at a particular period. According to the ritual texts, the bridegroom's party has to approach the girl's father and request for the alliance. This is confirmed by Kālidāsa's reference that Himavān

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did not offer his daughter to Lord Śiva directly since the proposal should first come from Śiva's side (*KS.* I.52):

अयाचितारं न हि देवदेवमद्रिः सुतां ग्राहयितुं शशाक ।
अभ्यर्थनाभङ्गभयेन साधुर्माध्यस्थ्यमिष्टेऽप्यवलम्बतेऽर्थे ॥

In Śrīharṣa's times, the situation had perhaps changed. It is expected of the bride's father to approach the bridegroom's party. In Naiṣadha (15.9), the king sends a messenger to Nala saying that his daughter may be favoured by his accepting her hands. He calls it a sapling of desire. With what can it grow? It may grow, the king says, with the water that will be offered to him to wash his feet when he comes as a bridegroom. Washing the feet of the bridegroom with water by the parents of the bride is again one of the rituals of the wedding:

अथावददूतमुखः स नैषधं कुलं च बाला चं ममानुकम्प्यताम् ।
स पल्लवत्वद्य मनोरथाङ्कुरश्चिरेण नस्त्वच्चरणोदकैरिति ॥

The father of a girl has to take sincere efforts in seeking a suitable bridegroom for his daughter (*Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, II.5):

कन्यायाा वरसंपत्तिः पितुः प्रायः प्रयत्नतः ।
भाग्येषु शेषमायत्तं दृष्टपूर्वं न चान्यथा ॥

The role of parents in the marriage of their daughter is again stressed in *Avimāraka.* A girl should be given away in marriage after careful consideration of the suitability of the bridegroom. Otherwise both the families will be ruined like the banks of a swollen stream (I.3):

जामातृसंपत्तिमचिन्तयित्वा पित्रा तु दत्ता स्वमनोभिलाषात् ।
कुलद्वयं हन्ति मदेन नारी कूलद्वयं क्षुब्धजला नदीव ॥

(ii) The consent of the parents is essential for a wedding. It is referred to by Kālidāsa (*KS.*VI.1):

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अथ विश्वात्मने गौरी संदिदेश मिथः सखीम् ।
दाता मे भूभृतां नाथः प्रमाणीक्रियतामिति ॥

(iii) Right from the Vedic times Indians believed in astrology. The astrological chart of a person would be cast at the time of birth itself and it would be taken as the guiding principle throughout the life of the person concerned. If the stars foretell bad times, expiatory ceremonies would be performed. According to a reference in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, Kaṇva goes to a holy place called Somatīrtha for performing expiatory rituals in order to pacify malignant star position of his foster daughter Śakuntalā (passage after I.13):

इदानीमेव दुहितरं शकुन्तलामतिथिसत्काराय नियुज्य दैवमस्याः प्रतिकूलं शमयितुं सोमतीर्थं गतः।

According to the Gṛhya texts, all rituals have to be performed on an auspicious day. Kālidāsa also refers to it saying that Himavān started the prelimanaries of his daughter's wedding on as auspicious day (*KS.* VII.1):

अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् ।
समेतबन्धुर्हिमवान्सुताया विवाहदीक्षाविधिमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥

The role of astrologers in fixing the auspicious dates for all rituals is well-known. Bhīma also followed the convention. The assembly of astrologers, in his court declared a particular astrological moment to be free from defects caused by the rise and fall of the planets by virtue of its perfect qualities. Thereupon the king made preparations for giving his daughter in marriage (*Naiṣadha*,15.8):

निरीय भूपेन निरीक्षिताननाः शशंस मौहूर्तिकसंसदंशकम् ।
गुणैररीणैरुदयास्तनिस्तुषं तदा स दातुं तनयां प्रचक्रमे ॥

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(iv) A ritualistic bath and decorations of the bride are prescribed in the Gṛhya texts. Kālidāsa's description acts as a commentary for this rule (*KS.* VII.6):

मैत्रे मुहूर्ते शशलाञ्छनेन योगं गतासूत्तरफल्गुनीषु ।
तस्याः शरीरे प्रतिकर्म चक्रुर्बन्धुस्त्रियो याः पतिपुत्रवत्यः ।।

The bath is accompanied by the playing of the drums (*KS.* VII.10):

विन्यस्तवैदूर्यशिलातलेऽस्मिन्नाबद्धमुक्ताफलभक्तिचित्रे ।
आवर्जिताष्टापदकुम्भतोयैः सतूर्यमेनां स्नपयांबभूवुः ।।

Śrīharṣa also refers to the ceremonial bath before the wedding. In conformity with the family custom, lifting up golden pots, a multitude of matrons bathed Damayantī on a platform which was decorated with beautiful designs. (*Naiṣadha*,15.19):

उदस्य कुम्भीरथ शातकुम्भजाश्चतुष्कचारुत्विषि वेदिकोदरे ।
यथाकुलाचारमथावनीन्द्रजां पुरन्ध्रिवर्गः स्नपयाम्बभूव ताम् ।।

(iv) According to the tradition, brides of the royal class should hold an arrow in their hand and Kālidāsa refers to it (*KS.*VII.7):

सा गौरसिद्धार्थनिवेशवद्भिर्दूर्वाप्रवालैः प्रतिभिन्नशोभम् ।
निर्नाभि कौशेयमुपात्तबाणमभ्यङ्गनेपथ्यमलश्चकार ।।

The commentator quotes from Manu (III.44) – शरः क्षत्रियया ग्राह्यः इति मनुस्मरणात् ।

(v) Kālidāsa minutely refers to all the customs followed in the wedding like the bride being decorated with garlands, application of the collyrium to the eyes, sandal paste on the body, *gorocanā* on the forehead, the *tilaka* on the forehead, adorning her with silken garments and

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precious ornaments, the placing of the *lodhra* shoots on the ears and her being led to the wedding platform (*KS.* VII.10-18,20). They all fall in line with the ritual tradition.

Blessings by Elders:

Blessing by elders by throwing *akṣatā* on the bride and the bridegroom as described by Kālidāsa is followed even today (*Raghu.*VII.28):

तौ स्नातकैर्बन्धुमता च राज्ञा पुरंध्रिभिश्च क्रमशः प्रयुक्तम् ।
कन्याकुमारौ कनकासनस्थावार्द्राक्षतारोपणमन्वभूताम् ।। [4]

Role of Women in the Rituals:

The Gṛhyasūtra writers have recognized the role of women in the Gṛhya rituals. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyaṣūtra* (1.14.8) says that whatever the womenfolk say, must be carried out. The *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (1.8.11) says that the women are the authorities in matters like the marriage. Kālidāsa falls in line with this dictum (*KS.* VI.32):

आर्याप्यरुन्धती तत्र व्यापारं कर्तुमर्हति ।
प्रायेणैवंविधे कार्ये पुरंध्रीणां प्रगल्भता ।।

Śrīharṣa also emphasizes their importance through the words of king Bhīma. After his daughter had selected Nala as her husband in the *svayamvara*, Bhīma orders for the arrangements of the wedding. He says (*Naiṣadha,* 15.7) :

सृजन्तु पाणिग्रहमङ्गलोचिता मृगीदृशः! स्त्रीसमयस्पृशः क्रियाः ।
श्रुतिस्मृतीनां तु वयं विदध्महे विधीनिति स्माह च निर्ययौ च सः ।।

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4 Also see *KS.* VII. 88:
क्लृप्तोपचारां चतुरस्रवेदीं तावेत्य पश्चात्कनकासनस्थौ ।
जायापती लौकिकमेषणीयमार्द्राक्षतारोपणमन्वभूताम् ।।

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'Let gazelle eyed women perform the ceremonies regulated by womanly convention and befitting the occasion of a marriage. We shall carry out the injunctions laid down in the scriptures and the legal texts'.

A person is not entitled to perform any ritual without being accompanied by his/her spouse. After having abandoned his wife, Rāma could not perform the horse sacrifice. Hence he made a golden image of Sītā and then performed it.

While making the wedding proposal to Himavān, the seven sages went with their spouses (*KS.* VI.13):

तद्दर्शनादभूच्छंभोर्भूयान्दारार्थमादरः ।
क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम् ।।

A man is generally guided by his wife in the selection of the bridegroom for their daughter. Kālidāsa concurs with this idea (*KS.* VI.85):

शैलः संपूर्णकामोऽपि मेनामुखमुदैक्षत ।
प्रायेण गृहिणीनेत्राः कन्यार्थेषु कुटुम्बिनः ।।

There is a reference to the role of women in the preparation of the rituals (*Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, IV. 24):

स्त्रीजनेनाद्य सहसा प्रहर्षव्याकुलक्रमा ।
क्रियते मङ्गलाकीर्णा सबाष्पा कौतुकक्रिया ।।

The mother of the bride has an important role in the wedding. Menā applies the traditional *tilaka* on the forehead of her daughter (*KS.*VII.23):

अथाङ्गुलिभ्यां हरितालमार्द्रं माङ्गल्यमादाय मनःशिलां च ।
कर्णावसक्तामलदन्तपत्रं माता तदीयं मुखमुन्नमय्य ।।

An ornamental mark was applied on her forehead for Damayantī also. Her face already beautiful with eyes and lips now surpassed the beauty of the moon (*Naiṣadha*, 15.28):

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विधाय बन्धूकपयोजपूजने कृतां विधोर्गन्धफलीबलिश्रियम् ।
निनिन्द लब्धाधरलोचनार्चनं मनःशिलाचित्रकमेत्य तन्मुखम् ॥

Śrīharṣa also mentions the bridal hair dressing. He says that her hair was a mass of yarn for the cloth of darkness (*Naiṣadha*,15.29):

महीमघोनां मदनान्धतातमीतमःपटारम्भणतन्तुसन्ततिः ।
अबन्धि तन्मूर्धजपाशमञ्जरी कयापि धूपग्रहधूमकोमला ॥

The wedding is usually performed in the forenoon but there are also traditions of the wedding being performed in the evenings and even in the night. Daṇḍin refers to the wedding in the evening (*Daśakumāracarita*, Vavilla edition, p. 125); *Nāgānanda* also refers to wedding in the evening (passage after III.2).

The custom of offering a bridal fee was existent in ancient India[5]. Some of the ritual texts also make a mention of it. It is corroborated by Bhāsa's reference to it in *Pratimānāṭaka* (Kaikeyī's words after III.19).

Music, Dance, Fun and Frolic in Rituals

The Gṛhya texts recommend music and dance as part of the rituals. *Naiṣadha* says that to mark the occasion of the wedding of Nala and Damayantī, music programmes were organized. The music was pleasant to hear. The lyrics were not drowned by the flutes, nor the flute by the singers. Cymbols were not suppressed by the tabours, nor tabours by drums, nor the drums by tabours. It was a nicely blended programme (*Naiṣadha*,15.17):

विपश्चिराच्छादि न वेणुभिर्न ते प्रणीतगीतैर्न च तेऽपि झर्झरैः ।
न ते हुडुक्केन न सोऽपि ढक्कया न मर्दलैः सापि न तेऽपि ढक्कया ॥

5 On the other hand, dowry was prevalent in India during the 19th century and most part of the 20th century as well. It was probably the result of imbalance in the demographic equation.

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Other Modes of Wedding:

In *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa,* we find that princess Vāsavadattā had eloped with Udayana. The queen (the heroine's mother) wants to commit suicide since such a marriage would bring in bad name to the family; but the king consoles her by saying that such a marriage is permissible in the case of Kṣatriyas (Chamberlain's words [6] before IV. 24). There is another reference justifying the act of Udayana on the basis of Arjuna-Subhadrā episode (Act III.8).

Though the princess had been carried away, the marriage has to be solemnised. Hence it is suggested that a symbolic wedding should be performed for the painted pictures of the bride and the bridegroom.

The wedding of the portraits is referred to in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* also. In the VI Act of the play (passage after VI.11)[7] we find the mother of Vāsavadattā sending the portraits of Udayana and Vāsavadattā with which their marriage was conducted.

There is no sanction for such a practice in the ritual texts. But *Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (5.5) does refer to one *arkavivāha*, that is, a symbolic wedding to the bunches of grass, when a person is married for the third time, having lost two wives. There are such practices in the folk tradition also. In Tamil Nadu, for example, if a girl's wedding is getting unduly delayed, she is married to the *Aśvattha* tree in a symbolic fashion. Similarly if a marriage has to be annulled, the erstwhile couple break a bunch of grass. The Rantias of Nagpur have a peculiar tradition – in order to ward off the effects of evil eyes falling on the married couple, the images of the bridegroom and the bride, made of clay are kept at the entrance to the

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6 क्षत्रधर्मेणोद्दिष्टस्ते दुहितुर्विवाहः ।

7 . . . तच्चित्रफलकस्थयोः वत्सराज-वासवदत्तयोः विवाहोऽनुष्ठीयताम् इति ।

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wedding hall. We also know that Rāma performed the horse sacrifice with the golden image of Sītā by his side.

In *Avimāraka*, the hero and the heroine are united without undergoing the rituals prescribed. Nārada justifies their action by saying that they are married according to the Gandharva form of marriage (passage after VI.14).

That Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā were married according to the Gandharva form of marriage is a well known fact. We find a justification for it in the third Act of *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* (III.21):

गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः ।
श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभिनन्दिताः ।।

Thus we see that the references to Gṛhya rituals related to *Vivāha* in the *kāvyas* are very useful in understanding the growth and development of the ritual prctices.

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WHY SHOULD SANSKRIT LITERATURE BE STUDIED AND TAUGHT IN THE 21ST CENTURY?

C. Panduranga Bhatta

Introduction

The question "Why should Sanskrit literature be studied and taught in the 21st century?" is an enigmatic one, which may get different answers from different segments of educated people. Two extreme answers are quite popular for this question. One extreme answer would be that Sanskrit literature has ceased to be relevant in the 21st century as it is out dated and difficult to understand and a majority of people do not comprehend what is there in Sanskrit because of the tremendous cultural gap that has crept in. Other extreme answer is that Sanskrit has the solution for all the problems of 21st century life and, it is mystic and sacred and, the views and concepts expressed in the literature compiled in Sanskrit are beyond our comprehension and hence are to be accepted without any question. This paper does not follow any of the extreme viewpoints; rather this paper adopts a middle path approach.

21st Century has created many new problems for which surprisingly some practical solutions are available in ancient Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit is not to be identified only with religion and philosophy as is commonly done because there is a good amount of literature in Sanskrit which has to be treated as secular. As much as Sanskrit is needed to understand other worldly things (philosophical), equally Sanskrit is also needed to understand worldly things (material). Eminent Indologists both from India and abroad have written extensively and continuously about the eternal relevance of this wonderful heritage called Sanskrit.

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There are many aspects for which Sanskrit has remained relevant up to now right from its origin. It is important for the linguists as it stands at the root of many eastern and western languages, including English and most other European languages, classical or modern and its study illuminates their grammar and etymology. Sanskrit literature is not only voluminous in quantity but is also remarkable for its diversity and richness in the range of subjects and the branches of knowledge covered[1]. One has to take refuge in Sanskrit literature for understanding customs and manners, rites and rituals, festivals and arts of ancient India. It presents a new way of understanding man's relation to the rest of creation and lays out the laws for a productive and happy life which need to be revisited for one's own benefits. It is often said that whatever be the human aspiration – virtue (*dharma*), material welfare (*artha*), enjoyment (*kāma*) and spiritual effort (*mokṣa*) – in all these what is found in Sanskrit is found elsewhere, what is not found in Sanskrit is not to be found anywhere. This paper does not say that Sanskrit literature is to be studied from a jingoistic, fanatic and chauvinistic mindset. But it argues that Sanskrit needs to be studied from a realistic and practical approach. It follows a middle path approach in understanding the importance and relevance of some unique contributions of Sanskrit to topics which have come to the center-stage in the 21st Century such as leadership, pursuit of human needs, environmental ethics and theory of detached involvement.

Leadership Insights

Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the works on polity like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, literary works of Kālidāsa, Śukanāsa's

1 V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit: Essays on the Value of the Language and Literature*, The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, 1972, pp.7-14, 77-104; B. K. Sarkar, *Creative India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Lahore, 1937; F. Max. Muller, *India : What Can It Teach us*? Munshiram Manoharlal Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1991, p.4.

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famous advice to the young prince appearing in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa provide rich insights on the necessity of having a leader (king), virtues of a good leader (king), *Rājadharma* or code of conduct for leaders (kings), the law that confers powers on the leader to maintain the rule of law, and the directives for the exercise of power [2], etc. These texts champion the cause of leadership based on higher values which would include personal discipline, acting according to the law, respecting the learned, ethics and compassion. Insights derived from these sources would certainly be beneficial in developing alternate leadership models to those who are destined to lead (rule) in the 21st Century.

First and foremost, Kauṭilya's (4th century B.C), *Arthaśāstra*, composed in Sanskrit which is an authority on polity, mentions the qualities that are necessary to become an effective leader. According to Kauṭilya a leader should be: non-fatalistic, of strong character, taking guidance from elders, truthful in speech and behavior, grateful, non-procrastinating, intelligent, disciplined, full of shame to do anything evil, free from passion, anger, greed, and capable of Self-management. Kauṭilya divides the qualities that bring success to a leader into four groups: attractive qualities, qualities of wisdom, qualities of enthusiasm and desirable qualities.

(1) The attractive qualities are – intelligence, excellence of matured vision, truthful in speech, not inconsistent, graceful, philanthropic, highly enthusiastic, prompt, of firm resolve, keen on training, not having lowly council.

(2) The qualities of wisdom are – a desire to listen, listening, retention, deep understanding, judging the pros and cons.

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2 A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1992, pp.89-93; C. Panduranga Bhatta, "Origin and Evolution of Kingship: An Ancient Indian Perspective", *16th World Sanskrit Conference Souvenir Book*, Sanskrit Studies Centre, Bangkok, 2015, pp.48-57.

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(3) The qualities of enthusiasm are – bravery, impatience, promptitude, and ability.

(4) The desirable personal qualities include: eloquent (or wise), energetic, endowed with good memory, thought and strength, good natured, expert in art, leader of his forces in calamity, openly responding to a good turn and injury, modest, investing to meet calamity and abnormal situation, very far-sighted, foremost in actions suitable for the place, time and human endeavour, devoid of lust, anger, greed, rigidity, frivolity, oppression, trickery and back-biting, pleasant in speech, talking with a smile, and acting on the advice of the elders [3].

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki presents an effective leader as a man of self-possession and of great heroism, firm and of controlled senses; endowed with intellect, tact and power of speech; one who is righteous, true to his vow and always intent on what is beneficent to his subjects; rich in fame and knowledge, pure, ease of access, attentive to his duty; one who knows the true import of all the systems of knowledge; dear to the entire universe being absolutely good; never depressed; being an adept in duties and acts; a noble man who views everybody equally and looks always in the same pleasing manner [4]. At another place it says that he is always calm, talks soft and talks first; though told harsh things, does not retort.

Satisfied even with one good turn done to him in some way; and forgets even hundreds of disservice; learned, not addicted to

3 Shekhar Sen, "Management of Power in Ancient Indian Literature: A Brief Survey", *Leadership and Power: Ethical Explorations*, (ed.) S.K. Chakraborty, and Pradip Bhattacharya, Oxford University Press, 2001; P.C. Chunder, (Tr), *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, The M P Birla Foundation, Calcutta, 1995, pp. 303-04.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 8.16; C. Panduranga Bhatta, "Management of Power: Lessons from the *Rāmāyaṇa* ", in *Leadership and Power: Ethical Explorations*, (ed.) S.K. Chakraborty, and Pradip Bhattacharya, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp.415-28.

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unbeneficial things; has no taste for evil gossip; estimates persons at their worth; efficient and devoid of laziness and carelessness, knows his own defects and the defects of others; enjoys pleasure in harmony with righteousness and material welfare but is never indolent; never insults beings.

Mahatma Gandhi's model leader was Lord Rāma and his wish was to reestablish the kingdom of Lord Rāma (*Rāmarājya*), a kingdom based on truth and non-violence on earth. Gandhi has made some useful observations on an ideal leader (ruler) in this context. He said that without overcoming lust, a person cannot hope to rule over self; without rule over self, there can be no *Rāmarājya* (kingdom of Rāma). Rule over all without the rule over oneself would prove to be deceptive and disappointing. What is required is commitment to basic virtues, such as, truth, character, self-control and sacrifice. To Gandhi, Rāma meant God of truth and non-violence and not any particular God or Goddess. It is the ideals and the great qualities that Rāma embodied that are important. Under Rāma's kingship, the relation of the ruler to the ruled would be that of a protector, a friend, indeed a senior member of the family. The sorrow of the people would depress Rāma deeply, and in their joys, he would rejoice like their father. The king or the one who rules, Gandhi described as 'a protector, a guardian and a trustee, the best servant, the servant of servants.' He said, "Whether Rāma of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of *Rāmarājya* is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without elaborate and costly procedure"[5].

5 V. Raghavan, 'Gandhiji's Concept of Rāmarājya', *An Anthology of Aspects of Indian Culture*, Dr.V.Raghavan Centre For Performing Arts, Chennai, 2002, pp. 431-42.

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According to the *Mahābhārata* the leader must adopt a truthful, upright and straightforward style, while dealing with people in order to gain their fullest confidence. He should be gentle, mild mannered, given to persuasion and reconciliation, and aim at winning the heart of people. The rewarding factor of this consciously cultivated style of doing good to others through virtues is also the way to success and continued enjoyment of power and wealth[6]. Protection of people is possible only when governance is impartial, and the law is not 'held in abeyance'. The fundamental principle of law is: 'The ruler shall not punish one for the offence committed by another.' The ruler, besides being intelligent, also knows the principles of punishment. He who is afraid of dispersing just punishments is impotent as king and is devoid of intelligence and can never protect the people. Because governance is a complex affair, and a burden too, the ruler who is not skillful in the art of governing can never protect the people. Freeing himself from likes and dislikes, and keeping preferences, anger, greed and vanity far away, a ruler must treat all beings with a sense of equality. Misuse or non-use of power arises out of the human vices of lust, greed and pride.

The *Mahābhārata* is a comprehensive portrayal of the truth that use of power based on *dharma* will not deny the users access to wealth and pleasure. Bhīṣma's advice to Yudhiṣṭhira appearing in the Śānti and Anuśāsana Parva of the *Mahābhārata* is of great significance to leaders (kings) as it contains some practical hints to become effective leaders. Those leaders who have sufficient self-knowledge to recognize the vicissitudes of power, and who will not be tempted away, they will be, in the end, the most powerful. They will be the ones who are remembered with respect and affection. The ultimate judgment of

6 *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, 93.12.

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leaders is often not about how they acquire and use power, but how they relinquish it. The paramount importance of leaders and the profound influence a leader has on the condition of his state and society has been pithily expressed in the following couplet:

kālo vā kāraṇam rājño rājā vā kālakāraṇam /
iti te samśayo mā bhūd rājā kālasya kāraṇam // [7]

Whether, it is the leader (king) who is the maker of the age or the age that makes the leader (king) is a question about which there is no room for doubt. The leader (king) is undoubtedly the maker of the age.

The Sanskrit literature also talks of universal welfare as an eternal guiding principle for effective leadership. The *Mahābhārata* says : The ideal conduct for the leader (king) to follow is that of the pregnant woman, for she rejects what pleases her and only does that which benefits the embryo she is nourishing. Similarly, the ruler (king), discarding pursuits and objects dear to him, shall ever be engaged in what is conducive to public welfare.[8]

The *Mahābhārata* also advises the ruler (king) about his duty as:

Wiping away tears from the faces of the destitute, the orphaned and the old, and spreading cheer amongst all, is known as the duty of the ruler (king)[9].

7 *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, 69.79; Badrinath Chaturvedi, *The Mahabharata: An Inquiry in the Human Condition*, Orient Longman, 2006, pp. 418-64.

8 *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, 56. 45-46:
यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वं प्रियं मनसोऽनुगम् ।
गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा राज्ञाप्यसंशयम् ।।
वर्तितव्यं कुरुश्रेष्ठ सदा धर्मानुवर्तिना ।
स्वं प्रियं तु परित्यज्य यद् यल्लोकहितं भवेत् ।।

9 *ibid.*, 91.38:
कृपणानाथवृद्धानां यदाश्रु परिमार्जति ।
हर्षं सञ्जनयन् नृणां स राज्ञो धर्म उच्यते ।।

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The *Mahābhārata* narrates the story of an ideal ruler (king) who, in spite of his hunger and thirst gave away food and water kept for himself and members of his family to poor persons who were in need of it and asked for it. Then he prayed to God thus:

'I desire neither political power nor heaven nor liberation from the cycle of rebirth. My only desire is to quench the miseries of the living beings and wipe out tears'.[10]

Kauṭilya also states :

prajāsukhe sukham rājñaḥ prajānām ca hite hitam /
nātmapriyam hitam rājñaḥ prajānām tu priyam hitam // [11]

– In the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of the king; in their welfare, his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him: But treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects.

A great Sanskrit poet, Kālidāsa is very helpful in understanding the traits of exemplary rulers (kings) as all of his three plays and his poem *Raghuvamśa* deal with the life of kings as the principal themes. The Raghu kings were, of course, role-model rulers. Kālidāsa does not derive the word *rājā* (king) simply from the root *rāj* to shine, or to appear splendid; a king is to him a ruler who keeps his people happy.[12]

By inculcating discipline among his subjects, by affording them security and livelihood, the King was the real father of the subjects; the physical fathers were responsible only for their birth.[13]

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10 Swami Yatishwarananda, (Ed.) *Universal Prayers*, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1971.

11 *Arthaśāstra*, I.19.34.

12 G.K. Bhat, *Appointment with Kalidasa*, L.D. Series 83, L.D. Institute of Indology Ahmedabad, 1982, pp.69-74.

13 *Raghuvamśa*, I.18: *prajānāmeva bhūtyartham* and I.24: *prajānām vinayādhānād rakṣaṇād bharaṇādapi.*

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Kālidāsa's Duṣyanta, as depicted in his famous play *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, rules over his subjects treating them as his own children, and, with no thought for personal comfort or happiness he tires himself for the welfare of the people. He is firm in dealing with people who go on wrong or crooked paths; he puts down any disputes, conflicts or controversies by the rule of law; and gives constant attention to the protection of people. Ideal rulers (kings) portrayed by Kālidāsa led a self-sacrificing, noble and an exemplary life besides maintaining a political state where happiness and prosperity ruled, where blazing examples of ideal personal life lifted common life also onto a higher plane[14]. In describing the personalities of his favourite kings, Kālidāsa has particularly emphasized their devotion to the good of their people. About the kings of Raghu dynasty, Kālidāsa says:

They amassed vast fortunes so that they could gift away their treasures to the needy, distressed and the virtuous.[15]

At another place he describes a sacrifice performed by one of the kings of Raghu dynasty as:

He performed the *viśvajit* sacrifice in which one's entire wealth is given away; for of the good as of clouds, acquisition is for distribution.[16]

Kalidāsa's ideal rulers (kings) levied taxes only with a view to promote the prosperity of their subjects[17]. In this respect they resembled the sun, which draws up moisture from the earth only to shower it back a thousand-

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14 *Abhijñanaśākuntala*, V.6: *svasukha nirabhilāṣaḥ khidyate lokahetoḥ.*

15 *Raghuvamśa*, I.7: *tyāgāya sambhṛtārthānām.*

16 *ibid.*, IV. 86: *sa viśvajitam ājahre sarvasva dakṣiṇam...*

17 *ibid.*, I. 18; *prajānāmeva bhūtyartham...*

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fold as rain[18]. The welfare of the leader (king) does not lie in the fulfillment of what is dear to him; whatever is dear to the subjects constitutes his welfare[19]. Kālidāsa says: *pravartatām prakṛtihitāya pārthivaḥ* (let the king strive for the welfare of all his subjects).[20] He emphasises that true kingship (leadership) does not lie in self-indulgence at the cost of public welfare, but in the service of the people at the cost of personal enjoyment.

The concept that has been cherished through the long existence of the Sanskrit literary tradition is the concept of welfare of all human beings (*lokasaṅgraha*) the welfare of all and the happiness of all. Sanskrit literature speaks repeatedly of the responsibility of the leader (king) towards the under privileged. The simile of a great fruit-laden tree standing in a place of worship and providing food and shelter to all is an apt summary of the teachings of Sanskrit Literature about the householder's role of the king.

The tree of the kingly householder stands in a public square, welcoming all those happen to be in need of care and protection. The king looks after even those who have none to depend upon, those who have no family courtyard to seek shelter[21].

A leadership model developed in Sanskrit literature is worth imitating and the same is presented in a nutshell below. A leader (ruler) –

– has self-control, having conquered the inimical temptations of the senses

– cultivates the intellect in association with elders

18 *loc.cit., sahasraguṇamuttsraṣṭumādatte...*

19 See above reference numbers 11 and 14.

20 *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, VII.35.

21 Jitendra Bajaj and M.D. Srinivas, *Annam Bahukurvīta*, Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai, 1996.

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– is ever active in promoting security and welfare of the people

– ensures the observance by the people of their duties and responsibilities by authority and example

– improves his own discipline by continuing learning in all branches of knowledge

– endears himself to his people by enriching them and doing good to them.

The insights provided by Sanskrit Literature is that the personal virtues, human qualities, moral, ethical, and spiritual values of the leader in any filed should be of the highest order. In addition, he must possess competence in all the different dimensions of leadership skills. Both values and skills are equally necessary for a leader to be effective and successful. These insights are very valuable to those who are in charge of leading different organisations and institutions in the 21st Century.

Strategic Pursuit of Human Needs (puruṣārthas)

Credit goes to Sanskrit authors for recognizing three important human needs or aspirations as governing the growth of human life. The first two needs viz. *artha* (possessions) and *kāma* (passions), are the basis of human existence. To fulfill these needs, human beings have to earn and gather material aid, i.e. wealth. All such material aid is called *artha*. The term *artha* refers to the whole range of tangible objects that can be possessed, enjoyed, shared or lost. *Artha* is absolutely necessary for living a good life. Without wealth, virtues become impracticable. Poverty is never glorified as a virtue in Sanskrit literature. The importance of wealth and its positive role as a contributory force in the development of human beings is affirmed by Sanskrit authors. Bhartṛhari, a great Sanskrit poet praises the functions of wealth

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in his *Nītiśataka*. He points out the need for it to live a dignified life. In life no one can ignore and discount the value of money on which everything depends.

An important contribution of Sanskrit to this field is the concept of *dharma* which denotes morality human values founded upon higher, i.e. metaphysical and cosmic principles. The observance of *dharma*, in virtue of its being a necessary condition of social stability and harmony, is insisted upon as an indispensable ethic for the pursuit of wealth and pleasure. *Dharma* is an ethical law which prevents human beings from falling into crooked ways of the ordinary and unbridled demands of impulses, desires, ambitions and egoism.[22]

The pursuit of wealth and pleasure by wrong and unrighteous means, however, inevitably brings about eventual ruin. The author of the *Mahābhārata* says:

ūrdhvabāhur viraumeṣa na kaścit śṛṇoti me /
dharmādarthaśca kāmaśca sa kimartham na sevyate //

I raise my hands and I shout
But no one listens.
From *dharma* comes wealth and pleasure
Why is *dharma* not practised? [23]

Sanskrit authors with illustrations from history and mythology indicate how the pursuit of wealth becomes a value only when it does not contravene morality (*dharma*). Otherwise, it becomes a disvalue and stands condemned. Both passions (*kāma*) and possessions (*artha*) have to be regulated by

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22 Rama Jois, *Dharma, the Global Ethic*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1996.

23 *Mahābhārata*, Svargārohaṇaparva, Bhāratasāvitrī; Rama Jois, *Dharma*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1996, pp. 108-11.

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dharma. According to the *Bhagavad Gītā* (III.37), the craze for consumption is the greatest enemy of peaceful and happy living. It says that craze is also influenced by other impulses inherent in human nature such as greed, anger, passion, infatuation, arrogance and envy. These six natural impulses are considered to be six enemies, which if allowed to act uncontrolled, could instigate people to entertain evil thoughts in the mind for fulfilling their own selfish desires and for that purpose cause injury to others. This insight on the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of pleasure is echoed in many of the Sanskrit works dealing with the ethics and values.

Now there are many reports and surveys on how excessive consumerism today causes the environmental degradation, pollution, global warming, etc. It is to be noted that the doctrine of ethical pursuit of human needs (*puruṣārtha*) was formulated to strike a reasonable balance between the interests of the individual and the public interest, which means the interest of all individuals who constitute society or the nation and even entire humanity. The concept of *dharma* was developed with certain set of principles and ethical norms, a profile of dos and don'ts which provides a framework for human behavior. These norms of behavior are universally valid and hence applicable to all situations of life. Adherence to these rules of discipline would bring about a situation of peace, happiness and harmony both at the individual level and at the societal level. Failure to adhere to these norms would generate conflicts between the private profit and social benefit.[24].

Environmental Ethics

Another important concept developed in Sanskrit literature is the environmental ethics which has become a main topic in international debates,

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24 Swami Bodhananda, *Indian Management and Leadership*, Srishti Publishers and Distributers, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 193-207.

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conferences and seminars and a hot topic among world leaders. The Vedas and the Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas, and the Classical Sanskrit literature clearly inspire one to treat the environment with reverence and also create an awareness that the great forces of nature – the earth, the water and fire, the air and the sky, – as well as various orders of life including plants, trees, forests and animals are all bound to each other within the great rhythms of nature. They were also aware of the positive effect of pure air, water and natural plants, trees etc., on the human mind and hence took much interest in preserving them[25]. Further, the trusting kinship between human beings, birds, beasts, plants and trees, and a conviction in their mutual interdependence mark the authentic Sanskrit literature approach towards environment[26]. According to the Vedas, the earth is home to a very large family of living organisms. According to them the various species of animals and birds enter into our lives and we have obligations towards them. Out of compassion, we must promote the welfare of the world by setting up the right norms of action.

The delicate and holistic balance that exists in nature has to be respected and maintained. The Sanskrit literary tradition of reverence for nature and all forms of life, vegetable or animal, represents a powerful tradition that needs to be re-nurtured and reapplied in our contemporary context. What is needed today is to remind ourselves that nature cannot be destroyed without humankind ultimately being destroyed itself. The *Mahābhārata* says that the co-existence of wild beasts and the forests is necessary for the welfare of both. It says, the presence of tigers protects

25 *Atharvaveda*, V. XXI; G.Naganathan, *Ecological Spirituality*, New Age Books, Delhi, 2004, p.74.

26 C. Kunhan Raja, *The Vedas*, Andhra University, Waltair, 1957; C. Panduranga Bhatta, "Environment Friendly Life Styles: A Dialogue with Ancient India", *Decision*, Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, 2010, Vol. 36, No.3 ; V. Raghavan, *Ṛtu in Sanskrit Literature*, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, New Delhi, 1972; Vidya Niwas Mishra, (Ed) 'Man, Nature and the Poet', *Creativity and Environment*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1992, p.56.

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the forest from being destroyed by people, while the forest protects the tiger by allowing them to live in its interiors in peace[27].

The philosophy enunciated in the Sanskrit literature does not authorize human beings to lord over earth and exploit it in a whimsical, and selfish manner. Hermitages of sages used to be in forests, where hunting and killing of animals was strictly forbidden even for kings. The concept and practice of protecting sacred groves and veneration of herbs and trees has survived to this date. One should care for the well-being of the planet as a whole, together with all its inhabitants (including human being) and non-living resources besides living in harmony with nature eschewing violence to any form of life. Violence harms the sacred unity and causes the disease and suffering of life out of balance. The heritage of thousands of years codified in Sanskrit literary works is becoming more and more relevant today. Sanskrit literature advocates the cause of sympathetic understanding and love between humans and nature leading to life of harmony and rapport.

Theory of detached involvement (niṣkāma karma)

Motivational theories developed by the management experts are all partially true, and explain the behaviour of certain people at certain times. The search for a generalized theory of motivation at work appears to be a myth. There are certain concepts in Sanskrit literature which inspired and motivated people for achieving outstanding results. One such concept is detached involvement (*niṣkāma karma*). Sanskrit literature, taken as a whole, never emphasized the negation of life, though some of its philosophers did so. Sanskrit literary tradition emphasises indulging in right action positively with all one's strength and energy

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27 *Mahābhārata*, Aśvamedhaparva, Chapter 92.

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without worrying much about the results of such action. Thus is taught detachment in life and action, not abstention from them. Mahatma Gandhi parctised the *niṣkāma karma* theory as illustrated in the famous Sanskrit work *Bhagavad Gītā* and we get valuable insights from him on this concept. Gandhi says :

"By detachment I mean that you must not worry whether the desired result follows from your action or not, so long as your motive is pure, your means correct. Really, it means that things will come right in the end, if you take care of the means and leave the rest to Him"[28]

Detachment is not apathy or indifference. It is the prerequisite for effective involvement. According to him, the *Bhagavad Gītā* teaches *niṣkāma karma* in a very clear manner. A person who is worried about the outcome of his work does not see his goal; he sees only his opposition and the obstacles before him.

Feeling unequal to the difficulties of his situation, he becomes resigned or resorts to violence out of frustration and despair. But the person who is detached from results and tries only to do his best without thought of profit or power or prestige does not waver when difficulties come. He sees his way clearly through every trial. Gandhi himself tells about the real source of his power which otherwise would have remained a mystery:

"The *Gītā* has been a mother to me ever since I became first acquainted" with it in 1889. I turn to it for guidance in every difficulty, and the desired guidance has always been forthcoming. If you approach *Mother Gītā* in all reverence, then you would benefit by

28 Easwaran Eknath, *Gandhi the Man*, Jaico Publishing House, Delhi, Twelfth Jaico Impression, 2011, pp.125-48.

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her ministrations. One who rests his head on her peace-giving lap never experiences disappointment but enjoys bliss in perfection. This spiritual mother gives her devotee fresh knowledge, hope and power every moment of his life".[29]

It is one thing to translate the *Gītā* into another language and write elaborate gloss on it and quite a different thing to translate it into daily living. The first is an intellectual exercise on the surface level of the personality. The second reaches into the utmost depths of consciousness and leads to the complete transformation of character and conduct. Mahatma Gandhi says:

I have not been able to see any difference between the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*. What the *Sermon* describes in a graphic manner, the *Bhagavad Gītā* reduces to a scientific formula. It may not be a scientific book in the accepted sense of the term, but it has argued out the law of love "the law of abandon as I would call it" in a scientific manner.[30]

The *Gītā* says (II.47): ' Do your allotted work, but renounce its fruit – be dedicated and work' – *karmaṇyeva adhikāraste mā phaleṣu kadācana.'*

This is the unmistakable teaching of the *Gītā*. He who gives up action falls. He who gives up only the reward rises. But renunciation of fruit in no way means indifference to the result. With regard to every action one must know the result that is expected to follow, the means thereto, and the capacity for it. He, who, being thus equipped, is without desire for the result, and is yet wholly

29 Easwaran Eknath, *Gandhi the Man*, pp.125-48.

30 *loc.cit.*

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engrossed in the due fulfilment of the task before him, is said to have renounced the fruits of his action. Gandhi says :

"The last eighteen verses of the Second Chapter of the *Gītā* give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living. Those verses have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart. They contain for me all knowledge. The truths they teach me are the eternal verities, there is reasoning in them, but they represent realised knowledge. Those verses are the key to the interpretation of the *Gītā.*"[31]

The second chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā* ends with a description of the highest state of consciousness a human being can attain. It is the fullest expression of the *Gītā* ideal. Arjuna asked (II.54):

sthitaprajñasya kā bhāṣā samādhistasya keśava /
sthitadhīḥ kim prabhāṣeta kimāsīta vrajeta kim //

'What are the marks of the man who lives always in wisdom, completely established in himself? Tell me how he acts, how he conducts himself when under attack'.

Kṛṣṇa replied (II.55,62-3,71):

duhkheṣvanugdignamanāḥ sukheṣu vigataspṛhaḥ /
vītarāgabhayakrodhaḥ sthitadhīrmunirucyate //

Not agitated by grief or hankering after pleasure,
he lives free from lust and fear and anger,
fettered no more by selfish attachments,
he is not elated by good fortune

31 *Bhagavad Gītā,* II.47.

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nor depressed by bad. Such are the seers...

dhyāyato viṣayān pumṣaḥ saṅgasteṣūpajāyate /
saṅgātsañjāyate kāmaḥ kāmāt krodho'bhijāyate / /
krodhādbhavati sammohaḥ sammohāt smṛtivibhramaḥ /
smṛtibhramśād buddhināśo buddhināśāt praṇaśyati / /

When one keeps thinking about sense objects,
attachments comes. Attachment breeds desire,
the lust of possession which, when thwarted,
burns to anger. Anger clouds the judgement
and robs man of the power to learn from
past mistakes. Lost is the discriminative
faculty, and one's is completely destroyed.

vihāya kāmānyaḥ sarvān pumānścarati nispṛhaḥ /
nirmamo nirahaṅkāraḥ sa śāntim adhigacchati / /

– One who abandons all desires, and becomes free from longing and the feeling of 'I' and 'my', attains peace.

These are the verses which summarise Gandhi's life and philosophy. For more than fifty years he meditated on them morning and night and devoted all his efforts to translating them into his daily action. They are the key to his self-transformation. In the present context this becomes the proper philosophy of motivation, if explained correctly devoid of superstitious beliefs and being free from fanatic tendencies. This philosophy cuts across country, language, gender, and religion barrier and can be practised universally by all people.

In conclusion, it may be said that Sanskrit literature is relevant and will remain relevant in the years to come because it contains intuitive

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and eternal wisdom. If it is approached from an open mind without any prejudice or fanaticism, it is capable of providing the new insights whenever and wherever needed. Insights on leadership helps one to explore leadership dimensions that are responsible, responsive, intuitive, change and growth oriented. This also helps one in exploring spiritual and emotional competence and appreciate their roles in shaping effective leadership. Theory of detached involvement helps in understanding the art of stimulating a positive work culture. Sanskrit literature provides valuable insights with regard to environmental sustainability through philosophical and religious approach. This literature seeks the welfare of all creation, not only of human beings but also of the lower creatures. Classical Sanskrit literature clearly depicts a nature-friendly world-view that prompted the ancient Indian civilization to treat the environment with reverence. What makes the ancient scriptures like Vedas and classical Sanskrit literature unique is their assertion of nature and interconnectivity. Sanskrit literature remains an untapped remedial source for many problems haunting the 21st century such as developing global leadership, sustainable environment, conflict prevention through religion etc.

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BHARTṚHARI IN HIS TIME AND IN OURS *

JOHANNES BRONKHORST

na so ásti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamādṛte /
anuviddham iva jñānam sarva śabdena bhāsate // (*Vkp* [1] 1.131)

'There is no cognition in the world that does not follow words. All knowledge appears as if permeated by words.' (tr. Houben 1995: 76)

This is probably the most cited verse from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*. It is often understood to mean that according to Bhartṛhari, all cognition is somehow pervaded by words.

This conclusion is wrong. Many other verses from the *Vākyapadīya* show that Bhartṛhari believed no such thing. These other verses rather indicate that Bhartṛhari also recognized another form of cognition, one reserved to seers. The cognition meant in the above verse is cognition *in the world* (*pratyayo* ***loke***). Beside this, there is also cognition that is *not of this world* (***alaukika***). Consider the following verses:

yac copaghātajam jñānam yac ca jñānam alaukikam /
na tābhyām vyavahāro'asti śabdā lokanibandhanāḥ // (*Vkp* 2.297)

'Knowledge arising from a defect [in the organs of perception] and knowledge that is not of this world (*alaukika*), verbal usage does not take place on the basis of these two; words are based on everyday life (*loka*).' (tr. Houben 1995: 276; modified)

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* This paper was written for the 3rd International Conference on Bhartṛhari which, to my knowledge, never took place.

1 *Vkp* – Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadīya*, ed. W. Rau, Wiesbaden 1977.

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ṛṣīṇām darśanam yacca tattve kiñcid avasthitam /
na tena vyavahāro'asti na tacchabdanibandhanam // (*Vkp* 2.139)

' What the seers see and what is established in [the highest] reality, is not expressed in language, it is not based on words.'

We learn more about this cognition from the following verses:

sarvārtharūpatā śuddhir jñānasya nirupāśrayā /
tato'apy asya parām śuddhim eke prāhur arūpikām //
upaplavo hi jñānasya bāhyākārānupātitā /
kāluṣyam iva tat tasya samsarge vyatibhedajam // (*Vkp* 3.3.56-57)

'To have the form of the totality of objects, without [dependence on] a support, is purity of cognition. Some say that [if] it has a purity which is without any form whatsoever, [this] is still higher than that [other purity]. It is indeed a distortion of the cognition when it follows an outer form. It acquires a kind of impurity, which arises from the close connection when there is commingling [with the object].' (tr. Houben 1995: 277; modified)

Vākyapadīya 1.37 speaks of those 'whose minds are not distorted' (*anupaplutacetas*) and 'in whom insight has manifested itself' (*āvirbhūtaprakāśa*); they have knowledge of the past and of the future; the following verse 1.38 refers to the same beings when it states that 'with the vision of a seer they see things which are beyond the senses and unknowable':

āvirbhūtaprakāśānām anupaplutacetasām /
atītānāgatajñānam pratyakṣān na viśiṣyate//
atīndriyān asamvedyān paśyantyārṣeṇa cakṣuṣā /
ye bhāvān vacanam teṣām nānumānena bādhyate // (*Vkp* 1.37-38)

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It follows from the above that Bhartṛhari recognizes two kinds of cognition, one that is commonly used 'in the world', and another one that is 'not of the world'.

Bhartṛhari was not original in introducing this distinction. Buddhism, since the days of the scholastic revolution that took place in the north-western regions of the subcontinent presumably during the second century BCE, maintained that the world of our everyday experience is not ultimately real, and depends on words. Non-conceptual awareness, which is beyond the realm of speech, gives access to a higher reality. Later Buddhist thinkers, most notably from Dinnāga onward, systematized this vision and maintained that there are two forms of cognition, the one direct but free from conceptual constructs (*vikalpa*, *kalpanā*) and from words, the other one *with* such constructs and determined by words. Dinnāga certainly was aware of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* and was influenced by it, but he also continued and gave systematic expression to a position that had been held by Buddhists for centuries.

Probably under the influence of Buddhist thinkers, subsequent Brahmanical philosophers introduced a distinction between cognition with and cognition without conceptual constructs: *savikalpaka* and *nirvikalpaka jñāna pratyakṣa*. But already the *Yogaśāstra*, which presumably dates from around 400 CE and is therefore older than Bhartṛhari, introduced the notion of *vikalpa* and defines it as follows (*sūtra* 1.9): '*Vikalpa* ('conceptual construct') results from the knowledge of words, but is devoid of objective referent.' (*śabdajñānānupātī vastuśūnyo vikalpaḥ*). By stating that conceptual constructs are devoid of objective referent, the *Yogaśāstra* betrays the Buddhist influence it had undergone.

Bhartṛhari's originality does not lie in the fact that he recognizes different levels of cognition, nor even in the claim that one of these two gives access to a higher reality. It lies rather in the way he

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presents this higher reality. It is beyond words, to be sure, but Bhartṛhari succeeds nonetheless in saying several things about it. Most important among these is that the highest reality to which pure cognition gives access has the form of the totality of objects. It is the totality of all there is, considered as a whole. This tendency to attribute a higher reality to wholes than to their parts pervades Bhartṛhari's philosophy elsewhere too, and finds expression in such well-known positions as that the word is more real than its constituent parts, the sentence more real than its constituent words, etc.

It is not my intention to say more about Bhartṛhari's vision of ultimate reality, but rather to concentrate on his understanding of cognition. We have already seen that Bhartṛhari fits in this respect quite well in his historical context. But rather than further concentrating on his historical context, I will now turn to what we make of this understanding of cognition in our present, modern context. Does it make sense to think of cognition as being of two kinds, either with or without conceptual constructs, either determined by language or not being so determined?

I think it does so long as we do not insist on positing too radical a break between the two kinds of cognition. Rather than postulating that there are two levels of cognition, the one with and the other without conceptual constructs, it may be more useful to think of a sliding scale between the two: conceptual constructs are not either present or absent, they rather can be present to different degrees. This position has various advantages.

The first advantage is that it avoids a confrontation with those modern philosophers and scholars of mysticism who reject the idea that there can be such a thing as non-conceptual mental content. This is a contested issue in which we now do not need to take sides (see Bermudez & Cahen 2012, for an overview). Those who deny that

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there can be non-conceptual mental content may agree with Bhartṛhari to the extent that ordinary cognition is permeated by words and concepts, but they will reject that conceptual cognition depends on non-conceptual cognition. By not insisting on the existence of a form of cognition that is completely free from conceptual constructs, we may be able to avoid a fruitless debate.

The second advantage lies in the fact that conceptual cognition must be thought of in terms of associations between different mental contents. The precise nature of these mental contents may for the time being remain unspecified, just like the neural structures that are responsible for them. It seems yet clear that the recognition of, say, a dog depends on associative connections with the memory of earlier experiences in which dogs played a role. The associations between mental contents that underlie conceptual cognition might conceivably be more or less numerous, thus making cognition more or less 'conceptual'. The conceptual aspect of conceptual cognition may in this way be reduced, but there is no need to insist (or to deny) that this conceptual aspect can be completely eliminated.

Given the above, we may say that there is a continuum of cognitive states, ranging from full conceptual cognition to a cognition in which the conceptual aspect has been reduced to a minimum. This may suffice to make sense of Bhartṛhari's two kinds of cognition; what we add is that the break between the two is, at least in theory, not as radical as he may have believed. In fact, the transition between the two is gradual.

Let us now recall what Bhartṛhari has to say about the cognition that is not of this world. According to him, supernormal knowledge is not the basis of verbal usage, the highest reality cannot be expressed in language, it is not based on words. Pure cognition has the totality of things as object, or it is without form whatsoever. This is in perfect agreement with our understanding of the effects of the acquisition of language (for details see Bronkhorst 2012 and especially 2016).

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When learning language, we learn to "carve up" our experience into chunks that correspond to the concepts created under the influence of language. If, by whatever means, we succeed in freeing ourselves, if only for a few moments, from the conditioning imposed by language, we experience a "different reality" that cannot be expressed in language. The reason is that the scheme imposed by language has now been withdrawn, if only for a while. And since the "carving up" of reality has been temporarily withdrawn, we experience the world as being "whole" in a manner that we cannot experience so long as we see the world through the glasses of language.

Few modern thinkers will swallow Bhartṛhari's philosophy whole. This is no reason to ignore an aspect of his thought from which we moderns can still learn.

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THE PROBLEM OF CHANCE : ŚRĪ HARṢA AND THE REFUTATION OF DEFINITIONS OF PERCEPTION IN THE KHAṆḌANAKHAṆḌAKHĀDYA

PHYLLIS GRANOFF

In his *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* the 12th century philosopher Śrī Harṣa sets out to refute the categories and definitions of each and every one of his opponents. In so doing he offers us an unusual window into the complexity and vibrancy of classical Indian thought. To read his section on perception is to gain an encyclopedic view into the contests that were waged as philosophers sought to understand what made perception a distinctive form of knowledge that could be accurately described as such.[1] Śrī Harṣa rarely specifies whose definition it is that he subjects to his withering and witty criticisms; the exception is when he adds to a definition or one of his refutations a phrase that makes his statements applicable to the Prabhākara Mīmāmsā as well as the other schools.[2] Nonetheless, it is often possible to identify an opponent by the specifics of the objection.

1 For Śrī Harṣa and his mode of argumentation and a summary of the section on perception see my *Philosophy and Argument in Late Vedānta: Śrī Harṣa's Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, Dordrecht: D.Reidel Publishing Company, 1978.

2 See for example pp.209-11 in the edition with the Hindi commentary of Śrī Caṇḍī Prasādasukula, Kāśī: Acyutagranthamālākāryālaya, 1961. My references to the *Khaṇḍana* will be to this edition. The edition with Śamkara Miśra's commentary is to the edition edited Dr. Navikanta Jha, Kashi Sanskrit Series, 197, Benaras, 1970. The *Vidyāsāgarī* is edited by L. S. Dravida Śāstrī, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series 21, Benaras, 1904-1914. For information on the various commentaries in manuscript see my *Philosophy and Argument*, pp. 56-7.

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From my earlier research I discovered that Śrī Harṣa's range in his refutations of definitions of perception was wide indeed. His definitions come from the Naiyāyikas, among whom Udayana and Vācaspati Miśra figure as favorite targets. Śrī Harṣa quotes Udayana in several places and knows all of his works particularly well. He cites definitions that can be found in the Prabhākara school, in the *Bṛhatī* and in the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* of Śālikanātha Miśra; in the texts of the Vaiśeṣikas, Praśastapāda and Śrīdhara; in the works of the Mīmāmsakas, Kumārila and Pārthasārathi Miśra; in a wide range of Jain texts, from the *Pramāṇamīmāmsā* of Hemacandra to the *Nyāyāvatāra* of Siddhasena; and of course he engages the Buddhists, Dharmakīrti, Dignāga and Dharmottara. It is of interest, given the virtual obsession with the Buddhists on the part of many of those whom he refutes, for example, among the Naiyāyikas, Mīmāmsakas and Jains, that Śrī Harṣa does not deal with the Buddhists in the same detail or with the same passion as he does with the others. In every case he is consistent in his aim: he is refuting definitions and his larger goal is to demonstrate that it is not only the definitions of perception that are mired in contradiction; this is true of definitions of anything and everything.

I focus here on one special case that Śrī Harṣa puts forward that is a problem for his opponents definition of perception. In fact it is also a problem for the wider category, the means of valid knowledge or *pramāṇa* in general.[3] This is the case when chance so brings it about that a faulty means of knowledge give rise to valid knowledge.

3 This short paper is taken from a longer paper prepared for a workshop on Comparative Philosophy of Perception, 14-15 November, 2015 at Shinshu University orgnanized by Moriyama Shinya. I thank Eli Franco for his comments on earlier drafts.

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Perception vis a vis Inference

One of the challenges of defining perception is that the definition of perception must distinguish perception from inference. This is often done by attributing to perception the quality of immediacy, *sākṣāttvam*. In this definition, perception is knowledge that is immediate; that is, it is a knowledge that is not mediated by any other form of cognition. This is the definition favoured by the Prābhākaras, and it also appears frequently in texts of other schools.[4] Śrī Harṣa offers a number of possible interpretations of 'immediacy', which he refutes, coming eventually to this one, *svakālāvacchinnārthabodhatvam sākṣāttvam*[5] – 'immediate knowledge is knowledge that makes known its object as delineated by its own time'. The idea behind this definition is that in inference the time and place of the object inferred are mediated by the perception of invariable concomitance; put in another way, the inferred object is cognized as connected to the mark through time and place. Just as the invariable concomitance tells us that where there is smoke there is fire, so does it tell us that when there is smoke there is fire. Fire is thus known as associated in time with the mark. Śrī Harṣa rejects this by saying that the definition, 'Perception is a cognition that makes known an object delineated by its own time', will still be over extended to apply to inferences of present objects. He gives as an

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4 The *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha Miśra, ed. with Ravideva's *Vivekatattva* by S.K. Rāmanātha Śāstrī, Madras University Sanskrit Series, 12, Madras, 1937, p. 77. *Sākṣāddhīḥ, svarūpadhīḥ; akṣāddhi svena rūpeṇa bhānam; Liṅgaśabdasadṛśānupapannebhyastu liṅgādirūpaparasambandhitārūpeṇa bhānam*, reading *liṅga* as in the other ms; the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* of Śālikanātha Miśra, ed. with *Nyāyasiddhi* of Jaipuri Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, by A. Subrahmanya Śāstrī, Banaras Hindu University Darśana Series, no 4, Benaras 1961, p. 146.

See also *Tārkikarakṣā* of Varadarāja, edited with commentary of Mallinātha, *Jñānapūrṇa* by Vindheyśvarīprasād Dvivedin, Benaras, 1903, p.57.

5 p. 229.

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example the inference where the mark and what is inferred occur at the same time: high tide is inferred from the presence of the full moon. It is clear that the definition is over extended, whether we consider as the cause of inference the mark or knowledge of the mark. Either leads to knowledge of something defined or restricted by its own time.[6]

This is Śrī Harṣa's first criticism of a definition of perception that tries to exclude inference by insisting that perception reveals the object itself, whereas inference reveals the object as connected with something else, in this case, the time of the inferential mark. The larger context in which this first refutation appears is the discussion of a completely different definition of perception, where the proponent of the definition had offered that its purpose was to make known the quality immediacy; this led Śrī Harṣa naturally to the question, what is this thing called 'immediacy'?

The discussion of this particular understanding of immediacy resumes a few pages later where it is given as an independent definition of perception:'*sākṣāddhīḥ svarūpadhīḥ, svena rūpeṇa vastuno bhānam*' – 'immediate knowledge is a knowledge of an object in its own form; the appearance of an entity in its own form.'[7] The definition is meant to exclude inference, because as we have just seen, the proponent of the definition argues that in inference the object is known not by itself, in its own form, but as delimited by or connected with the time of the mark.[8] Here Śrī Harṣa focuses on

6 Varadapaṇḍita suggests that the problem will be with all inferences of objects that exist at the present time and that the definition will exclude only inferences in which what is inferred is a past or future object.

7 p.231.

8 *Anumānādau liṅgādyapekṣatvāt tadavacchinnakālasambaddhabodhatvam na tvadhyakṣa iti*, p. 231.

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the problems that this entails not for a definition of perception but for a definition of inference. He takes the description of inference as revealing an object delimited by the time of the mark as the definition of inference and urges that there are many inferences in which the object inferred is past or future; in such cases the definition of inference would be under extended in that these past and future objects are not defined by the time of the mark, which is in the present.[9]

He then does something that requires our attention. He cites what seems to be the viewpoint of his opponent that it is necessary to define inference in this way in order to account for the validity of an unusual type of inference. This is an inference that should by all accounts not be valid, but that chance conspires to make valid by bringing together the elements that will make its object true.[10]

9 As far as I am able to discern at this stage of my research, the impetus for asserting that in an inference the object is known as delimited by the time of the mark comes from Udayana in the *Pariśuddhi, dhūmasyaiva jñāyamānasya tatkāraṇatvāt (tat* is *anumeyajñāna). anyathā tatkālānanuvidhānaprasaṅgāt ..... api ca liṅgānapekṣasya liṅgajñānasya liṅgijnānajanakatve pramāṇānām gatidvayavādo tatra tatra na syāt. tad ayam arthaḥ Indriyārthasannikarṣāt sattāmātravyavasthitād utpadyate jñānam tatsādhakatamam pratyaksam. Liṅgāt tu pañcarūpasampannād api jñāyamānād evāsatopi yadutpadyate jñānam tadanumānam.* (p.562).

10 In my interpretation I follow Varadapaṇḍita. Except for Anubhūtisvarūpācārya all the other commentators take this as a simple *aniṣṭāpatti*, it would result that an inference from a false mark would give true knowledge, or in other words, the definition would be overextended to apply to this admittedly false knowledge. This seems to me to miss something; Śrī Harṣa makes a point of saying that chance brings it about that not only fire, the *vyāpaka*, but also smoke, the mark or *vyāpya* is present. In other words, the *vyāpaka* as perceived does in fact have the time of the mark. Both are present. The problem is that this knowledge, though valid, cannot fit into any of the pramāṇas as they are defined unless it fits into the definition of inference given here. This is also clear from the fact that Śrī Harṣa inserts a '*na*' ; a simple *aniṣṭāpatti* would leave it out. Śamkara Miśra, p.315; Vidyāsāgara, p. 603; Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, p. 345.

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Here is the gist of what Śrī Harṣa allows his opponent to say: Inference must be defined as a knowledge that reveals its object as defined by the time of the inferential mark, otherwise the following cognition will not be a valid inference, which it must be. The idea is that it is valid knowledge, but if it is not considered to be a valid inference it would not fit into any type of valid knowledge that the opponent accepts. The inference in question is the inference of fire, the term of larger extension, from mist, which is mistakenly assumed to be smoke, the real mark in an inference of fire. The situation is something like this: a person infers the existence of fire from this false mark of mist, but chance so conspires that the person then comes upon the fire, which in fact does have smoke, the true mark. This is therefore a case of inferring an object delimited by the time of that which it pervades; it is knowledge of fire that is in fact delimited by the time of smoke.[11]

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11 P.231: *etena yadi na liṅgakālāvacchinnavyāpakapratibhāso anumā tadā kūṭavyāpyānumitasya vyāpakasya daivavaśāt satyavyāpyavyaktyantaravataḥ prāptau vyāptikālāvacchinnavyāpakaprāptyā tāvatyamśe pramātvam pramāviśeṣāntarbhāvānirvāhyam āpadyeteti.*

Varadapaṇḍita: *nanu vyāpyakālāvacchinnavyāpakapratibhāso anumānam anyathā dhkūmavyāpyabāṣpādyanumitasya vahnyāder vyāpakasya vastuvṛttyā satyavyāpyavyaktyantaravataḥ svayamca vastutaḥ sataḥ prāptau vyāpyakālāvacchinnavyāpakaprāptisamvādo bhavati. tatas tāvatyamśe vyāpya-kālāvacchinnatvāmśe yat pramātvam tatpratyakṣādipramāviṣeṣe ántarbhāvena nirvāhayitum aśakyam āpadyeta. na tāvat pratyakṣapramāyām dharmyamśapramāvat. nāpyanumāne vyāpyakālāvacchinnavyāpakapratīter anumānatvānaṅgīkārāt. aṅgīkāra eva tu tatrāntarbhāvaḥ.*

Anubhūtisvarūpācārya (*Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya of Śrī Harṣa with the Śiṣyahitaiṣiṇī ṭīkā of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya*, Ed. Esther Solomon, Ahmedabad: Gujarat University) 1990, p.291, is similar to Varadapaṇḍita:

anumānalakṣaṇe liṅgāvacchinneti viśeṣaṇānaṅgīkāre liṅgābhāsajanitajñānasya daivagatyā satyārthasya pramātvam pramāṇaviśeṣānupādhitayā pramāviśeṣalakṣaṇaśūnyam prasajyeta tannivṛttaye avaśyam liṅgakālāvacchinneti vācyam ityarthaḥ.

Śrī Harṣa returns to a discussion of this notion that what is to be inferred is defined by the time of the mark in his treatment of inference, p.253ff. For an extensive summary of this section see Esther Solomon, *Indian Dialectics*, vol.2, Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, 1978, p..585-587, *on line at Scribd*, accessed July 25, 2015.

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Śrī Harṣa repeats that this is still not a valid definition of inference; it will still be underextended because it will not apply to inferences of objects past and future, which do not have the time of the mark. And, he reminds the objector, as he had said earlier; it would still be difficult to understand the nature of the validity of the cognition with respect to just fire. Here Śrī Harṣa refers back to the section on valid knowledge, where he had argued that a knowledge of fire that comes from a false *liṅga*, mist, although not valid for the false liṅga that has been mistakenly assumed to be smoke, nor for fire accompanied by mist that is mistakenly assumed to be smoke, is nonetheless admitted to be valid either for fire actually accompanied by smoke or for fire alone.[12]

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12 P.146. Here Anubhūtisvarūpa argues for a simple *ativyāpti* of the definition, p. 179, as do Vidyāsāgara pp.390-91; Śamkara Miśra, 214. This implies that the cognition is false and the definition of valid knowledge wrongly applies to it. I believe that the fault is the opposite: the cognition is taken by the opponent to be valid, but there is no definition of a specific type of knowledge that can accommodate this cognition. After a long discussion Varadapaṇḍita seems to interpret the problem as I do, p.425 when he says that the stated flaw *uktadoṣa* is that the cognition will not be either perception or inference, '*uktadoṣasya pratyakṣādimadhye ántarbhāvānupapattirūpasya aparihāraḥ syāt.*' He begins, however, on p.423 by saying that Śrī Harṣa points out another case of over extension of the definition. He also reads the sentence differently from all the printed editions and the other commentaries and tries several times to make sense of it. They read *yadyapi liṅgābhāse na pramā, na vā tadvati liṅgisvarūpe,* taking *liṅgābhāse* as a locative and *na* as the negative. I take some liberties with the translation to make it clear: 'True it is that the resulting knowledge would not be a valid knowledge with respect to the false liṅga misconstured as smoke, nor would it be a valid proof of the existence of fire as characterized by the false liṅga misconstrued as smoke, since in both cases it would be representing an object, mist, as something it is not, smoke. Nonetheless, when by chance smoke and fire really do exist on the mountain, making known the existence of fire, either as characterized by smoke or just as fire alone, the knowledge would be valid.' Varadapaṇḍita reads the '*na*' as part of the instrumental termination for *liṅgābhāse* and says that there is some doubt as to whether the knowledge that results will be valid or not; it will sometimes be valid but not

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evam liṅgābhāsādibhyo'pi jātam liṅgijñānam daivagatyā sthitaliṅgaliṅgāni liṅgimatyeva vā yat syāt tattu yadyapi liṅgābhāse na pramā, na vā tadvati liṅgisvarūpe tathāpi viśiṣṭam tathāvidham gocarayantyās tasyā buddher liṅgāntaravati kevale vā liṅgini vahnyādāvapy aṃśe prāmāṇyasvīkāreṇa uktadoṣaparihārād iti. Now, in the present definition, the cognition of fire alone would still fall outside the definition of inference since it is not a knowledge of fire delimited by the time of what it pervades, the proposed definition of inference. It would thus be difficult to fit it into any category of *pramāṇa* admitted in the opponent's system.

There was a long debate about what to do with this inference of fire from mist, even where there turns out to be fire present; several scholars have singled out Gaṅgeśa in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* as taking the unusual position that such an inference can be valid.[13] The present passage in the *Khaṇḍana* indicates either that by the time of Śrī Harṣa there were some who considered it valid, or if this is meant as an hypothetical

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necessarily so: *yadyapi liṅgābhāsena pramā na vā tadvati liṅgisvarūpe*, 'Since the knowledge has been produced by a false mark, it may or may not be a valid cognition for what is to be proved, characterized as it is by that false mark. 'And again: *nanu yat jñānam tathā syāt tatpramā naveti sandeha eva na tu pramaiveti* ' (pp. 423-24). The following two lines seem garbled. On the whole Varadapaṇḍita seems to make less good sense of the passage than the other commentators, although in the final analysis his interpretation does not differ so greatly from theirs. He also has a different reading of the text itself, which may account for his gymnastics. He seems to have *evam liṅgābhāsādibhyo api liṅgijñānam daivagatyā sthitaliṅgaliṅgini liṅgam iti eva vā.* In other words he has to explain two different knowledges: knowledge of the *liṅgi* and knowledge of the *liṅga.* Among his suggestions on how to interpret Śrī Harṣa's words he does suggest that may be the reading *liṅgam ityeva* should be *liṅgimatyeva,* which is what everyone else has. Varadapaṇḍita also makes it clear that accepting that the knowledge of fire on the mountain, inferred from mist, is valid is necessary to avoid over-extension. There is no indication from Varadapaṇḍita that this is actually the opponent's actual belief.

13 Jonardon Ganeri, *Concealed Art of the Soul: Theories of Self and Practices of Truth in Indian Ethics and Epistemology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007,

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argument, then perhaps the idea that it must be valid came from Śrī Harṣa's pressure on his opponent.[14] The fact that Śrīdhara in the *Nyāyakandalī* wants to restrict calling mist a false mark to the case where there is no fire suggests to me that even before Śrī Harṣa some philosophers considered this to be a valid inference, and moreover that this may have been a Vaiśeṣika position.[15] Śamkara Miśra in the *Kaṇādarahasyam*, his commentary on the *Praśastapāda Bhāṣya* regards the inference of fire from a cloud of dust as at least potentially valid. Here is his comment:

'Should you ask, how is it possible to infer fire from something that is not smoke, like a cloud of dust? Our reply is that in an inference of fire from smoke we do not assert that smoke is the cause of inference, rather, the cause of inference is smoke as it is known as pervaded by what is to be proved, that is, by fire. And so why could not a cloud of dust, reflected upon in precisely this way, be the cause of valid

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chapter 5 and his review of Sukharanjan Saha, *Epistemology in Prācīna and Navya Nyāya*, Kolkata: Jadavpur University 2003 in *Philosophy East and West*, 2007, Vol. 57.1, pp. 120-25.

Also Saha, p. 66. Stephen H. Phillips says otherwise, '*Gaṅgeśa on Showing Inference Failure. The Asādhakatā-Sādhakatva Prakaraṇam of the Tattvacintāmaṇi*', in *Sanskrit Studies* Vol.3, Samvat 2069-70 (CE 2013-14) ed. Shashiprabha Kumar, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2014, pp.151-77, specifically pp. 166-9. He gives no reason for his belief that Gaṅgeśa could not have accepted such an inference as valid.

14 This could, for example, simply be a conclusion he forces upon his opponent through the earlier debates on p.146, however this seems less likely to me. I would like to see in Śrī Harṣa's use of the word *svīkāreṇa*, something like this: 'Because you admit that this knowledge is valid with respect either to fire alone or to fire actually accompanied by smoke.'

15 *Nyāyakandalī*, pp.421. Edited Dr. J.S. Jetly and Vasant G. Parikh, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no.174, Baroda: 1991, 420-21. As noted above I follow here the *Khaṇḍanamaṇḍana* of Varadapaṇḍita, p.602, and not Śamkara Miśra (p. 315) nor Vidyāsāgara, p. 603, who read Śrī Harṣa as saying that if that is the definition of inference, then it will be over-extended to this case.

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inference?'[16] For Śamkara Miśra, then, what gives rise to valid inferential knowledge is not the mark itself, smoke, as a physical reality, but the mark, smoke, as an object of knowledge in which it is reflected that smoke is pervaded by fire. In the inference of fire from a cloud of dust the person making the inference, having seen the dust and taken it for smoke, goes on to reflect, 'And the smoke present here is pervaded by fire.' The cause for a valid inference thus exists. This is meant to get around the problem that there was an error in seeing the cloud of dust as smoke in the first place, since the knowledge, 'The mountain has smoke that is pervaded by fire', in such a case turns out to be true. The knowledge, 'Therefore the mountain has fire', is intended here to have come from a correct cause.[17]

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16 *adhūmād dhūlī paṭalādeḥ katham vahnyanumitir iti cet na brūmo dhūmaḥ kāraṇam api tu vyāpyatvena parāmṛśyamāṇam kāraṇam iti tathā ca tādrūpyeṇa parāmṛśyamāṇam dhūlīpaṭalam api katham na kāraṇam syāt. Kaṇādarahasyam* in the *Praśastapādabhāṣyaṭīkāsamgrahaḥ*, ed. Pandit Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dvivedin, Benaras, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, nos 231 and 255, 1917, p. 93. For this reason, no doubt, Śamkara Miśra does not mention Praśastapāda's *tadbhāvāsiddha*, which would make this inference faulty. See p.101. Śivāditya, whose *Lakṣaṇamālā* is known to Śrī Harṣa, believes that by defining *anumāna* as *liṅgaparāmarśa* the possibility of a valid inference of fire coming from dust is avoided: *liṅgaparāmarśo ánumānam iti liṅgeti sādṛśyaparāmarśasya pratyabhijñānasya liṅgābhāsaparāmarśasya ca nirāsaḥ*. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, 'The Lakṣaṇamālā of Śivāditya', *Journal of Oriental Research Madras,* XIX, 1950, pp,44-52, specifically p.46.

17 Scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the problem of the inference from mist generating true knowledge of fire is a Gettier problem. See Ganeri, *op.cit.* chapter on Śrī Harṣa. Ganeri comments on Śrī Harṣa assuming that the inference is not valid, which I have tried to show here is the opposite of what the passage in fact means. I thank Eli Franco for providing me with references to Gettier problems.

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The differences in how philosophers understood the nature of the fallacy embodied in the inference of fire from mist indicate that this particular case caused Indian philosophers some difficulty. Dharmakīrti in the *Nyāyabindu* and the Jains who no doubt followed his lead classify this as a case of *sandigdhāsiddha* : 'Just as in the case when smoke is adduced to prove the existence of fire, although it is not certain whether it is smoke or mist.' [18] Dharmottara makes it clear that it is the person making the inference who is in doubt as to whether what is seen is smoke or mist.[19] The Jains follow the Buddhists in their understanding of this *sandigdhāsiddha.*[20] In the case of a *sandigdhā siddha* there is smoke and there is fire. The problem is that the person who sees the smoke is not sure whether what he is seeing is smoke or mist; there is a doubt and not certainty about the presence of the *liṅga.*

18 *Yathā bāṣpādi-bhāvena sandihyamāno bhūtasamghāto agnisiddhau upadiśyamānah sandigdhāsiddha. Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, ed. P. Peterson, Bibliotheca Indica 128, Calcutta, 1889, p.112. Compare also *Tattvasaṅgraha*, 1518: *sandihyamānavapuṣo dhūmasyāpyekadā anyathā bhāvān niścayakāle'pi na syāt tejasi liṅgatā.* Ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1968, Vol.1, p. 541. *Anyathā bhāvān* should be read as one word as in the commentary.

19 *Ātmanā samdihyamānam udāhartum āha / yatheti / bāṣpa ādir yasya sa bāṣpādis tadbhāvena bāṣpāditvena samdihyamāno bhūtasamghāta iti/ bhūtānam pṛthivyādīnām samghātaḥ samūhaḥ / agnisiddhāv agnisiddhyartham upādīyamāno asiddhaḥ / etaduktam bhavati / yadā dhūmo' pi bāṣpāditvena samdigdho bhavati / tadāsiddho gamakarūpāniścayād dhūmatayā niścito vahnijanyatvād gamakaḥ / yadā tu samdigdhas tadā na gamaka iti. Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, p.107. Jennifer Nagel, *Knowledge: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014 gets this wrong and attributes to Dharmottara the position of the Naiyāyikas. It also seems to me odd to refer to Gaṅgeśa as belonging to the Indo-Tibetan tradition as she does.

20 Hemacandra, *Pramāṇamīmāmsā*, edited and translated by Satkari Mookerjee and Nathmal Tatia. Prācya Bhāratī Series, Benaras, 1968, page 61.

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Of the Naiyāyikas, Bhāsarvajña in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* and Jayantabhaṭṭa in the *Nyāyakalikā* understand *sandigdhāsiddha* in this way.[21]

The Mīmāmsakas, Vaiśeṣikas, and other Naiyāyikas saw the problem differently. For them the inference of fire from mist involved not doubt, but error. A person mistakes mist for smoke and then infers fire. Praśastapāda classifies this as a special fallacy, *tadbhāvāsiddha*.[22] While Udayana and Vācaspati Miśra from the Naiyāyika side and Kumārila and his followers do not have a special category for this fallacy, they all agree that the inference cannot yield valid knowledge.[23] It remains to be seen if there were others who held that it can be valid, in precisely the case that Śrī Harṣa has described, where someone mistakes mist for smoke and infers fire and there really is both fire and smoke.

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21 *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa,* ed. Swami Yogindrānanda, Benares, 1968, p. 312. *Nyāyakalikā,* edited with an introduction by Mahāmahopadhyāya Gaṅgā Nāth Jhā, Allahabad, 1925. I thank Kei Kataoka for this reference to the *Nyāyakalikā.*

22 See the reference to the *Nyāyakandalī* above. As noted above, Śamkara Miśra in the *Kaṇādarahasya* ignores Praśastapāda's four-fold classification of *asiddha* and presents the standard Nyāya classification, eliminating *tadbhāvāsiddha*. *Kaṇādarahasyam,* p.101 in the *Praśastapādabhāṣyaṭīkāsaṅgrahaḥ*, ed. Pandit Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dvivedin, Benaras, Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series, nos 231 and 255, 1917.

23 Some of the references to Kumārila can be found in Ganeri, above. For Udayana see the *Pariśuddhi,* p. 349 in the edition of Anantalal Thakur, Mithila Institute Series 19, Darbhanga 1969, p. 349. This is referring to Vācaspati in the same edition p. 321. For the Naiyāyikas this falls within the fallacy of *vyabhicāra.* Interestingly, in the *Kiraṇāvali* Udayana seems to combine the Buddhist and Naiyāyika/Vaiśeṣika interpretations: dhūmabhāvena aniścito dhūlīpaṭalo agnyadhigatau. The case of the *Ślokavārttika* is complicated. In the *Anumānapariccheda* 78 Kumārila repeats the definition of *sandigdhāsiddha: bāṣpādibhāvasandigdho dvayor anyatarasyavā 78 dhūmas tridhāpyasiddhaḥ syāt.* In verse 156 we find the second type of fallacy, where fire is inferred from mist that is wrongly seen as smoke. In both cases the *pūrvapakṣa* is a Buddhist.

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I would also like to remark on the phrase *daivavaśāt,* 'somehow by chance', that results in this strange concatenation of circumstances: mist, fire, and not just fire but fire that is producing smoke all occur at that particular moment. Śrī Harsa likes these odd cases and he often mentions unusual circumstances brought about by chance, much as the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* does. In refuting the first definition of valid knowledge, he gives another case where chance determines that the knowledge a person has is correct. In this case the person guesses that his friend has concealed five shells in his hand and indeed, there are five shells there.[24] In refuting the definition of perception that it is knowledge the unique cause of which is unknown, he offers as a case where the definition should apply and does not. This is the case where by chance someone sees a pot immediately after he has inferred the existence of the visual sense organ.[25] Thus, when he sees the pot the cause of his knowledge is not an unknown unique cause but a known unique cause. Figuring out what to do with these knowledges causes his opponents considerable headache. The world is simply too unpredictable, too full of unanticipated surprises for us to define it precisely. And for Śrī Harṣa formulating definitions, the essence of scholastic philosophy as he sees it, requires precision and predictability, the very qualities that chance thwarts. But just because you cannot define it does not mean that religious experience is impossible. Perhaps paradoxically, it is this very process of refuting the definition of 'immediate knowledge' that makes room for its experience. Śrī Harṣa is very much man of his time. He shares a deep-seated belief in the mysterious power of direct perception, more evident perhaps in

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24 p.144. Ganeri discusses this in *Concealed Art of the Soul,* chapter 5. My interpretation differs from his.

25 p.225: *cakurādyanumityanantaram daivopajātaghaṭādipratyakṣāvyāpanāt.*

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religious poetry and stories.[26] Śrī Harṣa waxes eloquent about one particular direct perception: the direct perception of the non-dual soul, for which his refuting arguments are intended to prepare a person.[27] Śrī Harṣa, the ultimate debater, may in fact be closer to the poet or the story teller than to his fellow philosophers.

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26 In the longer paper from which this is drawn I discuss several Buddhist and Jain stories in which the perception of an image of the Buddha or Jina is the key religious experience.

27 p.81. See also *Philosophy and Argument*, p. 201.

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ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECOLOGICAL AWARENESS IN ANCIENT INDIA: AN OVERVIEW *

GAURI MAHULIKAR

Introduction :

Many scholars accuse that Sanskrit does not have texts on environmental science in the sense the term is used these days. True, there may not be one text dealing with this, but ancient India abounded in literature having environmental and ecological awareness through varied works. Environment is the natural world or ecosystem. It deals with the surrounding; the mountains, rivers, trees, creepers, birds and the beasts. Ecology is a branch of biology that deals with the relationship of organisms with their environment. This word got coined in the latter half of 19th century from the Greek word '*Oikos*' meaning 'home'. This word is cognate with the Sanskrit word *okas* meaning home (compare the word *divaukas* for gods). Right from the Vedas, Sanskrit texts have much reference to environmental protection, ecological balance, weather cycle and even the degradation and deterioration of natural resources either by natural phenomena or human interference. This paper will try to cover these two main sections. First section would deal with the environment in ancient Indian texts and the second with the ecology, relation of mankind with his surroundings.

* Key-note Address delivered at the Inauguration of the seminar on Environmental and Ecological Awareness in Ancient India held at the Institute on 08.07.2016.

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SECTION 1

It mainly deals, with the five gross elements and the natural surroundings. In fact the deities praised in the Vedic literature consist of heaven, earth, water, rainfall, fire, sun, dawn, night, forests and the like.

1. Earth: The Vedic seers believed that the well-being of mother earth depended, upon preservation and sustainable development of the surroundings. This vast treasure of knowledge has come down to us concealed by either the ritual / liturgical perspective or philosophical/ spiritual perspective. The responsibility lies with us to unveil the cover and peep into the heritage. Ancient Indian literature includes the Vedic, the Jain and the Buddhist thoughts. Vedic deities are natural phenomena personified and later deified by the seers. Their culture was nature-centric. The five gross elements were praised and were offered oblations. Vedic Aditi etymologically means the unbound[1] unlimited; as such she is equated with the vast earth, the Prithivī. In the funeral hymn,[2] she is requested to be tender to the dead like a mother towards her child. Human emotions are superimposed on the earth in an appealing manner. Creativity and fertility two main causes that make Aditi mother earth. Dhere identifies her with Lajjā-Gauri.[3] Cult of mother goddesses which emerged in the post-Vedic literature, has it source in Aditi.

Jungle is Araṇyāni, a separate deity in the *Ṛgveda*.[4] This hymn is a eulogy of the wild forest personified as a woman. She listens to the grass

1 R.N. Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1979, pp.60-1.

2 *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*) X.18-20.

3 See, R.C.Dhere, *Lajjā-Gauri* (Marathi), Pune, 1978.

4 *ṚV.* X.146.

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hoppers and chirpings of the birds. She allows the cattle to graze and permits men to eat fruits and roots. She was considered the benefactor, as such men never harmed her and the inhabit ants in any manner. There is a popular Sanskrit verse showing the inter-dependable nature of forests and beasts. Tiger is killed when there is no forest, forest without tiger is cut and destroyed. *Mahābhārata* speaks about the *vana vyāghranyāya.*[5] There cannot be a forest without tigers, there can't be tigers without forests. Traditionally forests are of five types: (1) *araṇya* – a war-free zone, (2) *tapovana* – place for penance, (3) *mahāvana* is a dense forest, (4) *śrīvana* – place of prosperity, cultivated for jungle produce and (5) *devavana* is place reserved for gods. Even today there are certain areas, called *devarai* in Marathi, where trees are grown and are not allowed to be cut as they belong to gods. Protecting the forest is protecting the tradition. Mountains have their unique place in maintaining nature's balance and ancient texts abound in the praise of these. The Purāṇas have accounts of mountain worship. Govardhana episode in the Bhāgavata is very famous. Various *dānas* are prescribed in the form of heaps of grains resembling mountains.

Agriculture is the major factor under this. There is an independent work on plants written by sage Parāśara called *Vṛkṣāyurveda.* He is regarded as the pioneer of scientific botanical literature in India. Different parts of plant like the root stem, twig, branch, leaves, flower and fruit are given in the *Manusmṛti* also. Caraka of course, gives more details like *pallava* – tender foliage, *tvak* or *valka* – bark, *sāra* – extract, *niryāsa* – secretion, *nāla* – fibre of *kṣāra* – alkali preparations and *kṣīra* – milky secretion.[6] *Arthaśāstra* and *Bṛhatsamhitā* are encyclopaedic texts which deal with all issues related to mankind. Parāśara has written a treatise on Agriculture, in which he has discussed types of rain bearing clouds

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5 *Mahābhārata,* Udyogaparva, 37-42.

6 *Caraka Samhitā,* 1.74.

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about crop cultivation, harvesting and various agricultural activities, which are followed by Indian farmers even today. Irrigation systems, non-dependence on rains, cultivation along river banks and in general optimum use of natural resources were the main objectives of ancient writers on agriculture.

Horticulture is not a new branch, as understood by common people, there is a work named *Upavanavinoda* based on this branch.

Kauṭilya speaks about various directors, amongst whom he mentions *Sītādhyakṣa*, as an expert on agriculture, science of rearing plants and botany.[7] Timely ploughing of fields, sowing of seeds. repairing the machines came under his supervision. Kauṭilya remarks that types of rice and oil-seeds are preferred as first sowings, pulses and gram are the middle sowings and lentils, barley, wheat, linseed and mustard are the last sowings. Priority of sowings is need based. At another place, he says that rice is the best crop, vegetables middling and sugarcane the worst because it requires much expenditure.[8] The economic crisis caused by sugarcane is experienced by us these days. It is to be noted with pride that no ancient Indian text records any farmer suicide in any adverse situation. The reason is that care was taken for crisis management.

2. Water: Water in its different forms has always been a source of wonder, curiosity and practical concern for human beings. It washes the dirt and purifies. Therefore water places like rivers, lakes, ponds got prominence in man's social and religious life. Water was worshipped by the Vedic steers in various forms. Right from the Vedic times, man regarded rain water as the boon. This nectar from the vast blue sky astonished him and inspired words of praise from him. The *ṚV* glorifies Parjanya as a mighty male deity, the divine seeder or fructifier of this naked earth. He causes

7 *Arthaśāstra,* II.24.

8 *ibid.*, II.24.19-21.

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the green sprouts and vegetation and thus announces the fertility of earth[9] Rain, thus is the semen, life-bestowing principle, the first visible incarnation of the divinity of water. Rain water is useful for agriculture, no doubt, but it is essential for survival. It is called *'jīvana'*, life. Storage of water in tanks, wells, pools, ponds, lakes etc. is therefore necessary, so as to make provision of drinking water for men as well as cattle all through the year (V.83.8) Parjanya is treated as father by the Vedic seers.[10] The thundering during showers is supposed to kill the evils and sins.[11] Agriculture dependent upon rains, has a special term called, '*devamātṛkā*'. Sanskrit literature has references of '*adevamatṛka'* agriculture that which is not-dependent upon rain water.[12] This in other words, is called *Nadīmātṛkā,* dependent upon rivers. Such type is regarded as the best by Kauṭilya.[13]

3. Rivers: River Sarasvatī is glorified as the greatest river, goddess and mother.[14] Ancient Indian culture and civilization both flourished on the banks of this great river. Anthropomorphic form of this river is that of a lady, dancing damsel, a mother who nourishes her children (people on her banks) on the milky white pure water. Interestingly, '*pāyas'* a Sanskrit word denotes both water and milk. It can be derived from root *'pā'* to drink as well as from root *'pyai'* to nourish. Rivers are mermaids, *Gaṅgā* is depicted as dancing on Śiva's locks, her body below the waist undefined, and almost formless like a tapering wavy mass[15]. River is tender at heart and sympathetic to all. At times she is viewed as young mother bending a bit while

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9 *ṚV.* V.83.1

10 *ibid.*, V.83-6.

11 *ibid.*, V.83. 2,9.

12. *Kirātārjunīya,* I.17.

13 *Arthaśāstra,* VI.1.8.

14 *ṚV.* II.41.16 *Nadītame, Ambitame, Devitame.*

15 C. Shivaramamurti, Ganga, Delhi, 1976, p.43.

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breast-feeding her child and at some she is considered to be a shy maiden bending to get embraced from her lover (*ṚV.* III.33.10). Thus all types of female relationships are superimposed upon her, yet the image of a sustaining mother has been preserved in our tradition, both in literature as well as art and architecture. Water is regarded as sacred and its efficacy as a curative fluid is widely believed in.[16] Since water cleanses both body and mind, it is regarded as an eternal source of peace. It purifies the impurities in sacrifice.[17] Purificatory bath, which is indicative of new birth, is therefore prescribed not only after the sacrifice; but also after the completion of studies.[18] This concept seems to be universal. All religions prescribe bath or sprinkling of water in consecration ceremony. The holiness attached to bath at particular places on auspicious occasions gave rise to the concept of *tīrtha*. This word, derived from the root *tṛ* to get across, means a fordable place, or a *ghāṭ* on a river or some water reservoir. Purāṇas have discussed this in details. The Jain concept of *Tīrthaṅkara* is based on this meaning. One who makes a fordable place to cross the ocean of transmigration is a *Tīrthaṅkara*. Because of its inherent property of healing and magico-mystical power, water became the main source of cosmology. Veda declares that unfathomable waters existed prior to creation.[19] Water is precious and endowed with many properties, as such it is to be guarded all the time. Many Vedic divinities like Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Apām Napāt, Ahirbudhnya, Aja Ekapād as well as Puranic deities like Śeṣa (Ananta), Yakṣas and Apsaras are associated with water. Protection and preservation of water came thus, under the cover of religion and mythology in ancient India. In India many festivals

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16 Hasting, James, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1977. Vol. XII, p.706.

17 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 4.1.55.

18 *Manusmṛti*, III.4.

19 *ṚV.* X.129.3.

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are connected with the rainy season. *Nāgapañcamī*, to express gratitude to serpents, the real friends of farmers and the zoo morph of water is celebrated in *Śravaṇa. Onam* or *Poṅgal* also come as harvest festivals. On the full moon day of *Śravaṇa* the fishermen throw coconuts in the ocean to pacify it. Then comes *Pola*, the veneration of bulls. Bull is an emblem of physical strength and symbolizes Indra. Thus our culture is embedded with water.

Water Management: Varāhamihira has studied fifty five trees and bushes and has recorded his observations. If a tree is short has oily bark and many branches, there is water below it. If a branch is bent downwards, it indicates availability of water. He has analysed and classified different types of soils also. If hot fumes are coming out of soil, it contains water on its surface. To validate this knowledge, Sri Venkatesvara University, Tirupati undertook a project and dug 300 bore wells at such places stated by Varāhamihira and 95% wells got ample water.Unfortunately this project suffered the red tape bureaucracy and was halted. The strikingly visible bio-indicators of sub terrain water given by Varāhamihira are ideally suited for the rapid economic development of drought hit areas of India. Water management during the Śātavāhanas or Peshvas in Maharashtra is seen even today through step wells built on Akluj Pandharpur road, near Barhanpur and Aurangabad. A large lake built by king Bhoja near Bhopal stands as witness to the facts narrated in *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra.*

The Gonds, considered to be the illiterate tribals of Chandrapur district had their own underground water management and three lakes, one named Ramala built in 15th century on 180 acres of land, Koneri and Ghutkala were interconnected by underground pipeline during the regime of Gonds. They constructed water reservoirs, called Hathani in local language on higher levels in the catchment areas near forest land for

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drinking purposes. Queen Herai had taken special initiative to built a lake especially for horses. Department of environmental science of Shivaji University, Kolhapur, has published a paper to his effect. (*unishivaji.ac.in*) The water management of Gonds for sustainable development has potential to be adopted even today to bridge the gap between demand and supply of water.

We can learn lessons in sustainable hydrology from the ruins of an ancient empire of Vijayanagar in Karnataka.[20]

Kauṭilya mentions two types of dams; one called *sahodaka* with natural resources of water and the other called *āharyodaka*, which is a sort of storage tank or embankment where water is brought through outside channels. The natural one is preferred, he states.[21] Encouraging people to go for irrigation rather than depending upon rains, is a unique feature found in *Arthaśāstra*. Exemption from taxes for five years are prescribed for one who constructed water tanks anew.[22]

Water Pollution: Right to consume contamination free potable water is granted to us by our constitution; yet the main environmental problem in India is air and water pollution. It is the most essential cosmic principle in keeping the environmental balance. Land and trees depend upon water. In the Purāṇas it is stated that one should not urinate in the water, nor should one have nude bath.[23]

Nude bath is showing disregard to the divinities in the waters, which incurs sin; *Cira-haraṇa* of the Gopis by Kṛṣṇa highlights same value.[24]

20 I was fortunate to visit the heritage site ten years ago with Madhav Chitale, the water man of India, who tirelessly explained the water system of king Krishnadeva Raya and showed us the channel, named 'rayara hole' still flowing around the ruins.

21 *Arthaśāstra*, II.1.20 and VII.12.4,5.

22 *ibid.*, III.9.33.

23 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, III 9.6.8 *na nagnah snāyāt*. Also see *Manusmṛti*, 4.56.

24 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X.22.7 ff.

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3. Fire: This is *tejas* principle, which is experienced by us on three planes in three different forms. On the earth it is fire, the friend of man, one that cooks food and keeps him warm. In the atmosphere it is the lightening, the inevitable phenomenon accompanying the life giving rains and in the heavens it is the Sun and other luminaries that nourish the beings with their lustre. Yāska, the earliest etymologist refers to this in his three fold division of divinities.[25] Terrestrial fire, praised in more than two hundred hymns, is an important deity in the *Ṛgveda*. He is called a *gṛhapati, atithi* and identified with father.[26] Sun in the heavenly world is golden complexioned deity. He is regarded as the soul of the moving and the immovable world. Various other deities like Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga, Viṣṇu and Savitṛ have emerged as solar deities in the Vedic literature stressing the importance of light and heat in life. Agni too is purifier like water. It burns the dross, purifies things.

4. Air: Air is variously known as Vāta – the blower, Vāyu – the wind, Pāvana – the purifier and Prāṇa – the breath in Sanskrit language. It is also known as Mātariśvān – one that breaths or moves swiftly in the mid-region.[27] It is deified in Indian texts and is identified with the Ultimate Reality.[28] Air in Indian philosophy can be discussed at two levels; microcosmic and macrocosmic. On the larger elemental level it is the air, the atmosphere and can be traced back to the *Ṛgveda*. The *ṚV* has hymns addressed to Rudra, Maruts and Vāyu, all meaning air in different forms. Rudra is fierce and destructive like a terrible beast, like a wild storm, and the Vedic seers beg him to turn his malevolence elsewhere.[29] Maruts are the children of Rudra and are closely

25 *Nirukta,* VII. 2.

26 *ṚV.* I.1.9.

27 *Nirukta,* VII.7.

28 *Taittiriya Upanisad,* I.12.

29 *ṚV.* II.33.1.

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associated with Indra, the governing deity of rains. Vāta, the gale, is a less important deity, but is offered oblations in the Vedic sacrifices. All these aspects of air favour mankind by bringing fertilizing rains.[30] On the macro level, air is the essential element that brings water vapours and dust particles together and causes formation of rain clouds. On the micro level it is the life breath. It is the most dynamic element and works on different levels of existence. From physiological point of view it is the life principle. Psychologically, it can mean intelligence and philosophically, it is equated with *Ātman* or *Brahman*. Upaniṣads have various reference of *prāṇopāsanā* which can be treated as *ātmopāsanā.*[31] *Prāṇopāsanā* yields longevity in this life and immortality hereafter. It also ensures ecstatic delight, narrate the ancient texts. Yoga one of the six systems of Indian philosophy, emphasizes the *prāṇa* principle. Regulating and managing the *prāṇa* ensures healthy body and sound mind.

The elemental air is responsible for all activities of living beings. More so, as far as the organs of ear and speech are concerned. The sound uttered by the mouth is heard by the year through the medium of air; the harshness or softness of the sound is felt by the delicate skin of the hearing organ. Indian philosophy believes that air has the characteristic of touch by skin. It is the medium of tactile perception; otherwise also the cool or hot breezes are felt and experienced by us. Feeling of air is delightful, especially when it reaches us through some instruments. All over the world, hollow instruments like Flutes and stringed instruments like Guitar or *Sitar* are used to entertain people. But for air, it would not have been possible; air is an inevitable part of our day to day life. It helps us live life and live an enriched life.

30 *ṚV.* I.85; I.114; X.168 and so on.

31 Mahadevashastri Joshi, Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh, Vol.V, p.745.

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These days, air pollution has reached an alarming state due to excessive discharges of harmful gases. Ancient Indian thinkers attached divine element to the phenomenon to avoid pollution.

5. Ether: This is the Ākāśa principle in Indian ethos. The ancient Greeks used two words: *aer* meant the dim lower atmosphere, and *aether* meant the bright upper atmosphere above the clouds. Aristotle definitively separated air from ether. For him, *aether* was an unchanging, almost divine substance that was found only in the heavens. It can be compared to the element of Ākāśa in Indian tradition. Varuṇa, the sovereign king is supposed to be the guardian deity of the vast Ākāśa. The etymological meaning of Varuṇa from root *'vṛ'*, supports this. He is portrayed as a universal monarch upholding *ṛta*, the cosmic order. Imagining a deity to run, regulate and rule the entire cosmos is nothing but assigning smooth management of the worldly affairs. There is a system in the cosmos, and if it is disturbed, chaos would befall; this is the simple logic of the ancient seers of India. The forests, rivers, sun, moon, dawn night, fire, water, all these phenomena are entangled, are mutually inter-dependent and work in an order. Disturbing this is environmental imbalance. Human being is asked to maintain this, lest, he will be punished by Varuṇa.

SECTION II

This deals with ecology, which could be divided into many branches like Plant Ecology, Population Ecology, Community Ecology, Production Ecology and Geographical ecology, Animals and Birds Ecology and Environmental Ecology.[32] Some of these have already been covered in the earlier section. Here relationship of mankind with the surroundings and other living beings like animals and birds, otherwise known as Zoology, will be considered.

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32 Bhagachandra Jain, *Jain Dharma aur Paryāvaraṇ*, NBBC, Delhi, 2001, p.8.

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Mṛgapakṣiśāstra is one of the oldest works dedicated to the scientific information of the animals and birds. A Jain poet Hamsadeva of 13th century has classified hundred and twenty seven (127) animals and ninety seven (97) birds in this treatise. Besides this common text, there are separate texts written on elephants, horses, hawks and eagles.

In the pre *Mahābhārata* period, Śālihotra wrote *Hayāyurveda,* a medicine book for equine diseases. Traditionally, Nakula, one of the Pāṇḍavas is recognized as a supreme authority in this subject and one *Aśvaśāstra* is ascribed to him. Nala is regarded as the best horse rider in the *Mahābhārata.*

Similar is the case with the elephants. Two great works on elephantology *Gajaśāstra* and *Hastyāurveda* are ascribed to Pālakāpya While the former deals with the types, characteristics, diet, gestation period, sports of the largest herbivorous animal, the latter work classifies elephants into three-fold *prakṛtis* – Vāta, Kapha and Pitta and suggests medicines for them.

In the same line there is a book called *Gavāyurveda,* a hand book of medicines for the cattle. Basically ancient man lived close to nature; as such frequent interaction and periodical conflicts with wild as well as domesticated animals became regular feature for him. No wonder he developed an interest to observe their habits, practices, natural inclinations, likes, dislikes and make notes of all these details. Such documentations became the source books for the kings, the rulers and warrior classes first and then were thrown open to all mankind.

In ancient India, when PETA (Prevention of Enmity Towards Animals) was not operative, Kauṭilya has prescribed fine of twenty-six *paṇas* for killing or injuring fish, birds, deer and animals whose slaughter is

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disallowed on religious or other grounds.[33] The superintendent of animal slaughter is supposed to fine fifty *paṇas* to one who killed a calf, a bull or a milch-cow.[34] In fact, Kauṭilya makes room for a separate supervisor of cattle and entrusts the care of crippled, deserted, ailing and old cattle to him. On, similar grounds, there is a supervisor of horses and elephants. Man-animal relation is one based on mutual dependency and therefore utmost care was taken in maintaining a cordial relation.

Bṛhatsamhitā, the encyclopedic treatise of Varāhamihira (5th cenrury A.D.) has devoted as many as seven chapters to animal studies. The diversity of animal life is classified as rural (*grāmya*), wild (*āraṇya*) aquatic (*ambucārin*) terrestrial (*bhūcārin*), atmospheric (*vyomacārin*), diuranal (*divāsañcāriṇ*), nocturnal (*kṣapācāra*) and diurnal-nocturnal (*ubhayacārin*)[35] Topics of secular interest and animals are dealt with in *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja (11th century A.D.), though a text of statecraft and polity. Interestingly Bhoja divides bulls in four classes as *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya* and *śūdra,* in addition to *sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa.*[36] *Mānasollāsa* (12th century A.D.) is another treatise furnishing scientific information about animals. Someśvara, here, has given physical characteristics of various animals in different geographical regions. For example, dogs from Vidarbha are strong, those from Andhra are short, and those from Karnataka have a thin and short coat.[37]

Birds like crows, sparrows, parrots, pigeons, cranes are an inevitable part of human life. These birds stay near human habitat for their livelihood; and as such are closely associated with various

33 *Arthaśāstra,* II.26.2.

34 *ibid.*, II.26.5.

35 *Bṛhatsamhitā,* LXXXV.6.

36 *Yuktikalpataru,* X.36-74.

37 *Mānasollāsa,* IV.11.1298-1328.

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beliefs and practices. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has a crow episode in Sundarakāṇḍa and the *Mahābhārata* has various allegorical stories involving birds and animals in Śāntiparva. It also states that plants can breathe, think, smell, feel like humans. The *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* are separate texts meant to teach ethics through fables, wherein birds and animals speak in human tongue and are endowed with human characteristics. Family ties, fraternal feelings are superimposed on the birds and animals. We come across family of lion, pair of birds deeply in love with each other and caring for their young ones and so on. There are clear references to veterinary science and mention of the experts.

Principle of non-violence (*ahimsā*) adopted in Jainism and Buddhism is an appreciable nice method of moral education which inculcates the value for environmental protection. This non-injury concept could be physical, mental, emotional and social – environment in which humans live. Buddha differentiated between need and desire. He condemned desire (*tanha – tṛṣṇā*) and advised to end desire to end misery (*duḥkha*). Truly, Nature has enough to sustain all, but nothing to satisfy the greed or desire of mankind.

Conclusion:

As Aurobindo says, problems of life are problems of harmony. Increasing conflict is seen between human race and his surroundings today. When it comes to animals it is observed that due to urbanization and deforestation, natural habitat of animals is endangered resulting in climate changes and ecological imbalance. Natural habitats have become drier and hotter. Habitat loss is one of the major threats facing animals like tigers, leopards and elephants, who attack human beings.

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Forceful poaching for ivory, animal hides, unlawful hunting and cutting trees in the reserved forests have done great harm to the entire eco-system.

Tribals staying in the forest areas have a complete identification with the forest and the cycle of seasonality. They have developed amazing eco-indicators that could be adopted by the urban people and farmers, especially to predict the onset of monsoon. Celebrating festivals with the seasons is another mark of man-nature harmony. Initiating young generation into traditional knowledge of medicinal plants, methods of preservation of bio-diversity and treating these with respect, are some devices to maintain the ecological balance. Nature is the Vedic concept of Virāj, the universal cow or the Puranic concept of Kāmadhenu, the wish fulfilling cow. It is a cosmic affair, not the private property of human beings. Sooner man realizes this, better it is for his continuity and prosperity.

In India the study of sciences is popularly traced to the ancient sources because the language in which these works were written is Sanskrit. A true Indian, therefore can boast of his rich legacy and uninterrupted tradition of knowledge, should strive to study the source language and then explore the hidden aspects from numerous manuscripts lying in the dark cabinets and shelves of some remote library.

I would like to end with a beautiful verse from *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* (128.2.10) highlighting the importance of tree plantation:

अश्वत्थमेकं पिचुमन्दमेकं न्यग्रोधमेकं दश तिन्त्रिणीकम् ।
कपित्थतबिल्वामलकीत्रयं च पञ्चाम्ररोपी नरकं न पश्येत् ॥

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हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकारचयिता – सुन्दरदेवः

का. सु. बालसुब्रह्मण्यः

हठयोगमधिकृत्य लिखितेषु ग्रन्थेषु **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकाख्यो** ग्रन्थः यद्यपि प्रमुखः तथापि अद्य यावत् अमुद्रितः अत एव न सार्वजनीनो भवति । अस्य ग्रन्थकर्तुः सुन्दरदेवस्य [1] वैचक्षण्यं न केवलं हठयोग एव किन्तु सारस्वतप्रक्रियायाः सर्वासु भूमिषु विपश्चिदपश्चिमं लक्ष्यते । प्रकृते **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकाख्ये** ग्रन्थ एव – राजयोगः, हठयोगः, तन्त्रशास्त्रम्, आयुर्वेदशास्त्रम् , शैवसिद्धान्तः, उपनिषदः, गीताः, पुराणानि, **महाभारतम्**, अद्वैतपद्धतिः इत्यादिषु बहुषु ज्ञानक्षेत्रेषु एतद् ग्रन्थकर्तुः परिचयः विद्यत इति ज्ञायते । यतः एतेभ्यो विविधविषयेभ्यः प्रदर्शिताः समुद्धाराः अत्र दृश्यन्ते ।

अपरोऽयं मुख्यो विषयः यः अनेन ग्रन्थकारेण योगपथभिन्नेषु बहुषु विषयेषु काव्यादिष्वपि ग्रन्थाः विरचिताः । अद्य यावत् एते सर्वे अमुद्रिताः तालपत्रेष्वेव समुपलभ्यन्ते । ते च – (१) **मुक्तिपरिणयनाटकम्** , (२) **भूपालवल्लभम्** , (३) **विनोदरङ्गप्रहसनम्** , (४) **रामसुन्दरकाव्यम्** , (५) **हठतत्त्वकौमुदी** [2] इति । अत्र अन्ते निर्दिष्टा **हठतत्त्वकौमुदी** सु.देवेन विरचितेति *Weber Catalogue of Berlin Manuscripts* (p.196) इत्येतस्माद् ग्रन्थादनुमीयते । इदानीं Lonavala Yoga Institute द्वारा मुद्रितोऽयं ग्रन्थः विराजते ।

हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां दृश्यमानादुद्धारात् **"प्रणवकुण्डली"** नाम्ना कश्चिदन्योऽपि ग्रन्थोऽनेन सु.देवेन विरचित इति तत्कृत सूचनादेवावगम्यते । **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** सूक्ष्मशरीर विवेचनाख्येऽध्याये समाप्तौ लक्ष्यमाणं "एतद्विवेचनं मत्कृतप्रणवकुण्डल्यां द्रष्टव्यम्" इति वाक्यं (पु.२२८)[3] उक्तमर्थमुपोद्बलयति । परन्तु ग्रन्थममुमधिकृत्य अद्यावधि न किञ्चिज्ज्ञायते ।

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1 इतः परं सु.देव : इति सूच्यते ।

2 *N.C.C*. Vol. VI " गोविन्ददेव " सु.देवस्य पिता (पु.२९७) । अत्र सु.देवस्य प्रथम ग्रन्थत्रयं सूचितम् । एतद् ग्रन्थ–सङ्कलनविषये मद्रपुरीविश्वविद्यालय–संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षाणां साहाय्यं मया लब्धम् । तेभ्यः मम धन्यवादाः ।

3 हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकामधिकृत्य दत्ताः पुटसंख्याः सर्वाः मद्रपुर्यां विद्यमानमातृकापुटसंख्याः ।

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(१) मुक्तिपरिणयनाटकम् (TD 4460)

ग्रन्थोऽयं तालपत्ररूपेण तञ्जावूरू महाराजा सर्फोजि महाल् पुस्तकालये लभ्यते । श्री.पी.पी.एस्. शास्त्रिवर्यैः अमुं ग्रन्थमधिकृत्य एवं लिखितम् – नाटकमिदं संसारसागरात् मुक्तिं प्राप्तुमुपायं प्रदर्शयन्तं अद्वैतमतसिद्धान्तं प्रकटीकरोति । अस्य चत्वारोऽङ्काः भवन्ति इति ।[4] ग्रन्थोऽयं अद्ययावत् अमुद्रितः।

(२) भूपालवल्लभम्

ग्रन्थस्यास्य तालपत्रं India Office, London कोशस्थाने अस्ति, अमुद्रितश्च । ग्रन्थममुमधिकृत्य एवं ज्ञायते[5] यत् ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् सु.देवेन पथ्यविधिं निदानविद्याश्चाधिकृत्य विस्तरेण लिखितमिति । अत्र वाग्भटादिवैद्यशास्त्रज्ञानां मतानि तत्र तत्र सूचयित्वा युक्तेषु स्थलेषु टीका अपि सु.देवेन लिखिता ।

(३) रामसुन्दरमहाकाव्यम्[6]

काव्यमिदं विशिष्य कांश्चनसाहित्यविषयान् प्रपञ्चयति ।

(४) विनोदरङ्गप्रहसनम्

प्रहसनमिदं I.O.London ग्रन्थकोशे लभ्यते, अद्ययावत् अमुद्रितश्च ।[7]

सु.देवस्य साहित्यशास्त्रनैपुण्यं एतत्प्रहसनं प्रदर्शयति । ग्रन्थकर्ता आत्मानं कविराजः कवीन्द्रः इति च संभावयति ।

राजशेखरस्य **काव्यमीमांसायाम्** उक्तमिदं – यस्तु तत्र तत्र भाषाविशेषे तेषु प्रबन्धेषु तस्मिंस्तस्मिंश्च रसे स्वतन्त्रः सः कविराजः ।[8]

अस्मिन् एकाङ्करूपके द्वौ सन्धी भवतः । प्रहसनमिदं अशीति वार्षिक्याः गणिकायाः गर्भाधानमधिकृत्य हास्यरसप्राधान्येन प्रवर्तते ।

प्रहसनेऽस्मिन् मुख्यपुंपात्राणि – कार्तान्तिकः, धूर्तावतंसः श्रोत्रियः, तच्छिष्यः शीलशङ्कुः वैद्यपाशो नाम वैद्यः, काषायवस्त्रधारी आर्यपादः, आनन्दतीर्थो नाम कपटशिवाचार्यः, तस्य शिष्यः मध्वमताभिमानी पापीश्वरः, कश्चिद्राजा च । तथा मुख्यस्त्रीपात्राणि – कलहव्रता नाम प्रचण्डा, रागमञ्जरी नाम सुन्दरी गणिका (इयं संस्कृतेऽपि भाषते), विनोदरङ्गा नाम अशीति वार्षिका वेश्या, अन्यानि च नीचपात्राणि ।

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4 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts,* TMSML.Vol. VIII, p.3465-67.

5 E. Windish & J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the I.O. London* 1894, p.954. 2704-57B.

6 *Catalogus Catalogorum,* Vol.I p.527 also p.725.

7 डा.स.सु. जानकी अस्य प्रहसनस्य प्रतिलेखं (Xerox copy) मे दत्तवती । तस्यै मम कृतज्ञतां निवेदयामि। (No.K.7424, Buhler 106).

8 काव्यमीमांसा, G.O.S. p.28.

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एतेषां पात्राणां विवरणमेव सुन्दरदेवस्य हास्यरसाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्यं प्रकटयति ।

(१) धूर्तावतंसः श्रोत्रियः-कुशपाणिः शिखां क्रोधेन परामृशन् प्रविशति ।

(२) कलहव्रता-मुसलहस्ता मुक्तकेशी च आक्रोशेन प्रविशति । तस्या वर्णनमिदं -
राक्षसी च प्रगल्भा च वृद्धा पलितशीर्षिका ।
पतितस्तनसंस्पर्शे भीत एव पुराभवम् ।। (श्लो.६)

(३) वैद्यपाशः - लोष्टोपलकरकागुटीमृन्मरीचचूर्णकेशी कुण्डिकालुलायविषाणादि-यन्त्र - विकृतशस्त्र - भारवाही ।

तेन स्वपूर्वजानधिकृत्योच्यते - अस्मत्पितामहैः अष्टाङ्गचिकित्सासर उपक्रमो रचितः इति । वैद्यशास्त्रे स्वस्य ज्ञानम् उपहासपूर्वं तेनैव एवं वर्ण्यते -

मया कृतार्थः कीनाशः शमेन सुखमेधते । (श्लो.२२)
मया हि - दीर्घजीवी क्षणजीवितव्यः कृतो न किम् (श्लो.२४)

(४) कार्त्तान्तिकः। (ज्योतिषशास्त्रज्ञः) तस्य वर्णनमेवं भवति -
भस्माङ्गरागः डमरूच्चहस्तः रुद्राक्षमाली गणिकाविहारी ।
प्रतिगृहं भिक्षुकवृत्तिरज्ञः कार्त्तान्तिको वञ्चकचक्रवर्ती । (श्लो.२२)

(५) आर्यपादः - मिथ्याविशालतिलको दंभमूर्तिरिवापरः ।
वेश्यागृहमठावासी आर्यपादः प्रसर्पति ।। (श्लो.१९)

(६) विनोदरङ्गा - अशीतिवार्षिका गणिका एवं वर्णिता-
शुष्कौ कपोलौ पतितं कुचाभ्यां यातं क्वचित् यौवनरंकुना द्राक् ।
दूरं द्विजैरन्तरितं विशुष्का नितम्बवार्ता रमणी तथापि ।। (श्लो.३०)

(७) रागमञ्जरी - अतिरूपवतीयं गणिका क्वचित् संस्कृतमाश्रित्य भाषते **मृच्छकटिकायां** वसन्तसेनेव । तस्याः वर्णनमिदम् -

मदनस्य गृहं निसर्गपात्रं कमनीयत्व गुणस्य कान्ति सीमा ।
गुरुणा जघनेन शोभमाना ललिताङ्गी हृदयं न हन्ति कस्य ।। (श्लो.२७)

एवमस्मिन् प्रहसने श्लोकाः बहुषु वृत्तेषु बद्धाः दृश्यन्ते । अतः सु.देवस्य न केवलं वैद्य - योगशास्त्रयोः परन्तु साहित्येऽपि नैपुण्यमासीदित्यत्र न कोऽपि संशयः ।

प्रहसनस्यास्य पुष्पिकायां सु.देवः स्वगोत्राभिधानं च लिखितवान् -

इति काश्यपगोत्र-पवित्र-कीर्तिदेववंशावतंस-श्रीविश्वनाथदेवात्मज-गोविन्ददेवसुत-सुन्दरदेववैद्यकृते विनोदरङ्गप्रहसने द्वितीयसन्धौ प्रथमोऽङ्कः ॥

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मुक्तिपरिणयस्य नाटकस्य प्रस्तावनायाः इदं ज्ञायते यत् सु.देवस्य जन्मभूमिः काशीति । स वैद्यशास्त्रेऽपि अतीव कुशल इति च ।[9]

हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायाः अष्टमपरिच्छेदस्य पुष्पिकायां दृष्टमिदं यत् सुन्दरदेवः दक्षिणभारतदेशीयः, ब्राह्मणकुलोत्पन्नः वैद्यशास्त्रज्ञश्चेति ।[10]

श्रीवेङ्कटरेड्डि महाशयः श्रीनिवासेन कृतं **हठरत्नावली** नामकं ग्रन्थं शोधयित्वा मुद्रितवान् । तत्र तेन निर्दिष्टं सु.देवस्य गुरुः पूर्णानन्द इति[11] परन्तु सु.देवः स्वस्य **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** विश्वरूपाचार्यशिष्य इत्यात्मानं प्रकटीकरोति ।[12]

एवं सुन्दरदेवमधिकृत्य तत्कृतग्रन्थेभ्यः एते विषयाः लभ्यन्ते ।

सुन्दरदेवस्य कालः

ग्रन्थकर्तॄणां तत्रापि विशिष्य योगशास्त्रग्रन्थकर्तॄणां कालादिकं ज्ञातुं महान् परिश्रमः अस्तीति सर्वैः विदितम् । प्रायः स्वनिवासस्थानं, कालादिविषयांश्च न ते निर्दिशन्ति । स्वात्मारामकृता **हठयोगप्रदीपिका**, गोरक्षनाथस्य **गोरक्षसंहितादयः** ग्रन्थाः, **शिवसंहिता, घेरण्डसंहिता**, इत्यादिग्रन्थनिर्मातॄणामपि विषये इयमेव स्थितिः । अतः **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** दृश्यमानान् कांश्चित् विषयान् विचार्य सु.देवस्य कालः निर्णेतव्यः । दिष्ट्या इतरग्रन्थकर्तॄणां नामानि, तेभ्यः ग्रन्थेभ्यः उद्धाराश्च अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे बहवः दृश्यन्ते येभ्यः सु.देवस्य कालं निर्णेतुं शक्यते । अधो लिखितग्रन्थाः **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** विषयविवेचनसन्दर्भे निर्दिष्टाः –

(i) हठयोगप्रदीपिका (ह.यो.प्र)

स्वात्मारामस्य कृतिः, प्रसिद्धोऽयं ग्रन्थः बहूनां हठयोगशास्त्रग्रन्थानाम् आदर्शभूतो विलसति। हठयोगशास्त्रग्रन्थकर्तारः प्रायः **ह.यो.प्रदीपिकायाः** एव बहून् विषयान् संकलय्य स्वाभिप्रायान् प्रकटितवन्तः । सु.देवश्च स्वस्य **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** बहुषु स्थलेषु **ह.यो.प्रदीपिकायाः** श्लोकान् गृहीत्वा तत्र तत्र टीकाश्च लिखितवान् । केषुचन स्थलेषु **ह.यो. प्रदीपिकायाः** श्लोकान् गृहीतवान् परन्तु मूलग्रन्थस्य नाम न सूचितवान् । **ह.यो. प्रदीपिका** हठयोगशास्त्रग्रन्थेषु उत्तमं स्थानम् अधितिष्ठति ।

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9 T.D.4460: तत् काश्यपगोत्रपवित्रस्य तत्र भवतः काशीजन्मभूमेः भिषगाभिमतस्य गोविन्ददेवसूनोः सुन्दरदेवस्य **मुक्तिपरिणयं** नाम नाटकं नाटयितव्यम् ।

10 गोविन्ददेवसुत काशीस्थ काश्यपगोत्र दाक्षिणात्य द्विजवर्य वैद्यविद्याविशारद सुन्दरदेवविरचितायां ...

11 **हठरत्नावली**, पु. ३६.

12 हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिका (पु.२७२): श्री पादपूज्य विश्वरूपतीर्थशिष्य सुन्दरदेव ... ।

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एतस्मादेव बहवः भारतीयाः पण्डिताः पाश्चात्यपण्डिताश्च अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कालनिर्णयविषये स्वाभिप्रायान् लिखितवन्तः । अस्य कालः १३५० – १६५० (क्रैस्ताब्दाः) इति श्री पी.के.गोडे (P.K.Gode) महाशयेनापि निर्णीतः [13] ।

(ii) विज्ञानभिक्षुः

हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां वार्तिककार इति सूचितोऽयं विज्ञानभिक्षुः **योगवार्तिकम्, सांख्यप्रवचनभाष्यम्** इत्यादिप्रसिद्धान् ग्रन्थान् रचितवान् । तस्य कालः १६ शताब्द इति डा.सु.ना.दासगुप्ता [14] श्री पी.के गोडे [15] महाशयः च मन्येते । महामहोपाध्याय ढुण्ढिशास्त्रिणः विज्ञानभिक्षुः १७ शताब्दीयः इति निर्दिशन्ति [16] ।

(iii) योगभास्करः

सु.देवः **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** चतुर्षु स्थलेषु **योगभास्कर** इति ग्रन्थात् विषयानुद्धृतवान् । *N.C.C.* (Vol.III.289-90) इत्यस्याः कोशसूच्याः कवीन्द्राचार्यः **योगभास्करं** रचितवानिति ज्ञायते ।

Dr. H.P. शर्मा – कवीन्द्राचार्यः स्वनैपुण्येन महम्मदीय महाराजं षाजहानं तोषयित्वा, तेन राज्ञा हिन्दु (समातनधर्म) यात्रिकाणामुपरि विहितं झसिया करम् अपनेतुं कृते यत्ने साफल्यमलभत; षाजहानस्य कालस्तु १६१८–१६५८ क्रैस्ताब्दः इति संयक् निर्णीत एव [17] इति वदति ।

Dr. राघवन् महाशयेनापि एवं लिखितम् – कवीन्द्राचार्यः बहून् ग्रन्थान् लिखितवान् । तेषु **योगभास्करश्च** योगशास्त्रमधिकृत्य लिखितः ग्रन्थः । परन्तु ग्रन्थममुमधिकृत्य नान्यः कश्चन विषयः ज्ञायते इति ।[18]

(iv) हठरत्नावली (ह.र.)

ग्रन्थोऽयं श्रीनिवासभट्टयोगीन्द्रेण विरचितः इदानीं श्रीवेङ्कटरेड्डिना संशोध्य, मुद्रितश्च । सु.देवः **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** (१) चक्रीकर्म (२) अन्तर्नौली (३) शङ्खप्रक्षालनं (४) सूत्रनेति

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13 *IHQ* Calcutta, Vol. XVI (1940) p.306-13.

14 *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1. p.221. (1975).

15 *IHQ* Vol. XVI (1940) p.313 (fn.32).

16 उपोद्घातः, योगसूत्राणि (षट्टीकासमेतं), म.म.ढुण्ढिराजशास्त्री, चौखम्भा संस्कृत संस्थानम् वाराणसी, 1982.

17 H.P.Sharma, "A Forgotten Event of Shahjahan's Reign" *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, 1935, p.53-60.

18 Dr.V. Raghavan, Kavīndracārya Sarasvatī by *Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 1940, p.59.

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विवरणे **हठरत्नावलीमुदाहरणत्वेन** सूचयति । अपि च सूत्रनेति विवरणे सूत्रस्य मानं दीर्घं च **हठरत्नावल्या** उद्धृतवान् इति श्री.वेङ्कटरेड्डिना उक्तम् ।[19] नेदं तथ्यम् । सु.देवः स्वस्य **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** नौली, चक्रीकर्मविवरणे एव **हठरत्नावलीम्** उदाहरणत्वेन गृह्णाति। **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायां** सूत्रनेति विवरणे सुन्दरदेवः न कश्चिदपि ग्रन्थं ग्रन्थकर्तारं वा उदाहरणत्वेन स्वीकृतवान् । नापि सूत्रस्य मानदैर्घ्यादिकं तेन वर्णितम् ।

श्री·वेङ्कटरेड्डिना श्रीनिवासस्य कालः १६२५–१६७५ इति विचारपूर्वं निश्चितः ।[20] उपरि निर्दिष्टेभ्यो ग्रन्थेभ्यः कांश्चन विषयान् सु.देवः स्वीकृतवान् । अनेन अस्य कालः १६५० क्रैस्ताब्दात् परं एव इति निर्णेतुं शक्यते ।

सुन्दरदेवात् अर्वाचीनः

सु.देवस्य **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकाम्** उदाहरणत्वेन सूचितवन्तः ग्रन्थकर्तारः न केऽपि अद्य यावत् अस्माभिः दृष्टाः । एवं सत्यपि **हठयोगप्रदीपिकायाः** व्याख्याता ब्रह्मानन्दः सु.देवस्य पश्चात् कालीनः इति निर्णेतुं शक्यते ।

ब्रह्मानन्दः स्वस्य **ज्योत्स्नाख्ये हठयोगप्रदीपिकाविवरणे**, श्लोकमेकं **हठसङ्केत–चन्द्रिकायाः** उद्धृतवान् । परन्तु मूलग्रन्थममुं नाम्ना न निर्दिष्टवान् ।

"ब्रह्मचर्यरतस्यैव ... कुण्डल्यभ्यासयोगिनः" इत्यस्य **हठयोगप्रदीपिकाश्लोकस्य**[21] व्याख्यायां ब्रह्मामनन्दकृतोऽयं श्लोकः –

> नासादक्षिणमार्गवाहिपवनात् प्राणोऽतिदीर्घीकृतश्चन्द्राभः परिपूरितामृततनुः प्राग्घण्टिकायास्ततः।
> छित्वा कालविशालवह्निवशगं भ्रूरन्ध्रनाडीगतं तत्कायं कुरुते पुनर्नवतरं छिन्नद्रुमस्कन्धवत्।।

हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायाम् अयमेव श्लोकः दृश्यते[22] । परन्त्वत्र केचन दोषास्सन्ति । श्लोकोऽयं ब्रह्मानन्देन **हठसङ्केतचन्द्रिकायाः** गृहीतः इति ऊहितुं शक्यते । ब्रह्मानन्दः मेरुशास्त्रिणः शिष्यः । अस्य कालः १८५७ क्रैस्ताब्दः इति निश्चितः। अतः ब्रह्मानन्दोऽपि तस्मिन्नेव काल उवास इति ज्ञायते ।[23]

एवं प्रमाणान्तराभावे उपरिनिर्दिष्टेभ्यः विषयेभ्यः सुन्दरदेवः प्रायः १६५० क्रैस्तवीय वत्सरात् पश्चात् १७५० वत्सरात् पूर्वं च आसीदिति भाति ।

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19 हठरत्नावली ed. by M. Venkata Reddy, p.36.
20 *ibid.*, p.10.
21 पु. ११८ – श्लो १२२.
22 पु. ४३६.
23 P.K. Gode, *IHQ* Vol. XVI, p.311.

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BRĀHMAṆAS : THE PRIMARY DATA OF MĪMĀMSĀ

A. Ujjwala Jha

Introduction

The discussions on sacrifice have been recorded in the *Black Yajurveda*, perhaps, for the first time in the history of Indian Literature. Actually this is one of the important reasons why the four Samhitās of the Yajurveda are named as *Black Yajurveda*. But it is the Brāhmaṇas which may be named as the first ritual commentaries on the Vedic Samhitā at least in a restricted sense. Pūrvamīmāmsā, one of the orthodox systems of Indian philosophy, on the other hand engaged itself primarily with the interpretation of the Veda in the ritual context. In this paper, an attempt is made to look into the relationship between Brāhmaṇas and the Pūrvamīmāmsā system.

Brāhmaṇas

The word '*Brāhmaṇa* ' (neu.) may be derived from *brahman* (neu.) meaning holy speech or prayer i.e. *mantra* and as such the word means, 'an explanation of the *mantras*'. If it is derived from *Brahman* (mas.) meaning priest or a Brahmin priest then it may mean 'an expression of a priest, who is expert in the science of Ritual'. Thus, 'Brāhmaṇa' is a class of texts which contain discussions on the science of sacrifice.

A Brāhmaṇa, in a general way, means the collection of all comments and discussions of experts on the sacred subject of sacrifice which is a focal point to which all their expositions and digressions in the shape of cosmogonic myths, ancient legends and narratives converge. This means, though the texts do have as their contents many a myth, many an old

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legend and tale, the focal point discussed in them is Yajña, ritual, rite or sacrifice. It is the only theme which is the starting point of all discussion and this alone is the central point around which all discussions revolve. (*Śata. Brāh.* I.7.3.22):

एष वै स यज्ञः। येन तद्देवा दिवमुपोत्क्रामन्नेष आहवनीयोऽथ य इहाऽहीयत स गार्हपत्यस्तस्मादेतं गार्हपत्यात्प्राश्चमुद्धरन्ति ।

Brāhmaṇa is a text where different sacrificial acts along with the *mantras* to be employed in them are elaborated : 'ब्राह्मणं नाम कर्मणस्तन्मन्त्राणां व्याख्यानग्रन्थः'। The expression,'कर्मचोदना ब्राह्मणानि' says a Brāhmaṇa text stands for injunctions of different rites. More comprehensive is the description by Vācaspatimiśra :

नैरुक्त्यं यत्र मन्त्रस्य विनियोगः प्रयोजनम् ।
प्रतिष्ठानं विधिश्चैव ब्राह्मणं तदिहोच्यते ।।

This says : where explanation, application, purpose of a mantra are dealt with and where the injunctions with their significance are discussed is called a Brāhmaṇa text.

Brāhmaṇas treat of the rituals from the point of view of the priestly class specialising in the Veda to which they belong. Thus, the Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛgveda* specify duties of the hot and select such *mantras* from the *Ṛgveda samhitā* as are suited to the particular rite under description as its śāstra without regard to their original sequence. But the Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda* while specifying the duties of the Udgātṛ and Adhvaryu respectively do not have to modify the original order of the *mantras* they cite from their respective Samhitās because these are already adapted to the order of the rituals. The Brāhmaṇas of *Sāmaveda*, the Veda of music, have very little to do with the interpretation of *mantras* cited from their Veda in the ritual as their main concern is musical adaptation and notation. The Brāhmaṇas of the

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Black Yajurveda are so similar in contents to their *Samhitā* with their mixture of *mantra* and Brāhmaṇa matter, that they look almost like suppliments to them. The *Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa* of the white *Yajyurveda* being devoid of *mantra* matter is a true representative of Brāhmaṇa literature, being a running, dogmatic and discursive commentary on its *samhitā*, verse by verse in the original order.

Truly the Brāhmaṇas treat great sacrifices one after the other, give rules for individual rites and ceremonies, record observations about the relationships among different sacrificial acts and also the relationships of acts with the *mantras.* Many a time the Brāhmaṇas give symbolic descriptions of the rituals prescribed. They also record the difference of opinions regarding different sacrificial matters and by setting aside the incompetent ones give decision in favour of the most consistent one. In almost each and every case of sacrifice they mention what should be the fees of the priests and also what should the sacrifice be obtaining as a *phala* or reward or result of the particular sacrifice. Oldenberg describes the Brāhmaṇas consisting of 'pre-scientific knowledge' whereas Winternitz comments, "in short, if we may be permitted to apply the word 'science' to theological knowledge, we can describe Brāhmaṇas at best as texts, which deal with the science of sacrifice".

The contents of Brāhmaṇas are technically classified into two chief categories :

Vidhi and *Arthavāda* ; Vidhis are injunctive portions of the Veda and may be named as the rules of ritual acts which are supplemented by an exposition i.e. *arthavāda.* From the *arthavādas* one understands the aim and propriety of the ritual acts as well as the liturgical context and the significance of the particular *mantras* used in the rituals. In the *arthavāda* everything connected with the sacrifice, the prayers, formulas, chants and

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melodies, their words and metres and every sacrificial act and material get an equal importance and are discussed from different points of view often on the basis of some *itihāsa* (history), *ākhyāna* (story) or *purāṇa* (creation legend).

Pūrvamīmāmsā

The term *mīmāmsā* in the title stands for Pūrvamīmāmsā (PM). PM is the biggest of the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy (IP) which may be renamed as Indian Hermeneutics in contemporary terminology. It is so because the system concerned itself with the interpretation of the Veda and evolved principles of sentence-interpretation for this purpose. Jaimini, for the first time, systematized these principles by composing the *Mīmāmsāsūtras*. In other words, the *Mīmāmsāsūtras* of Jaimini (*JS*) are nothing but rules and principles of interpreting the Veda. These were evolved out of the need to interpret the whole Veda meaningfully. The need arose because of the questions and objections of the heterodox systems regarding the authenticity and authority of the Veda. Actually, the Veda was the basis of the ritual culture, then prevalent in the society. According to the view of the heterodox systems, the Veda contained many meaningless sentences, many non-understandable, ambiguous, ridiculous and also contradictory sentences. Such a text, in their opinion, could not be the basis of a culture. This was the main point of the opponents. To answer these questions and to establish the authority of the Veda beyond all possible doubt, it was necessary to interpret the whole Veda and to show that it contained no redundant sentences. It was a challenging task which Jaimini took up and achieved the goal of the system by composing twelve chapters of *Mīmāmśādarśana*. He started with some presuppositions. They were:

1. The Veda is eternal. It is not a creation of any human being i.e. it is self-valid or autonomous.

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2. It is also not created by God. No God is required to be postulated for this purpose.

3. Action (i.e. ritual) is the meaning of the Veda. This means the Veda is meant for inducing a human being into an activity which leads to his good.

4. The action, in other words, is the duty (*dharma*) of human beings, which can be understood only from the Veda.

Along with these basic assumptions many criteria were evolved to establish that there was no lacuna iṇ the Vedic texts and as such the Veda must be accepted by the society as the source and basis of the ritual culture. In the light of -the first presupposition that the Veda is autonomous, the PM system held that the Veda had to be interpreted on the basis of itself. As far as possible, for this purpose, no help of any source should be taken which is external to the Veda. As such many questions were answered taking recourse to the Veda itself. Vedic sentences were classified into five categories : *vidhi* (injunction), *mantra* (incantation), *nāmadheya* (name of a rite), *niṣedha* (negative injunction) and *arthavāda* (narratives). In the light of the third presupposition above that action is the meaning of the Veda, injunctive sentences which prescribed different acts to be taken up or which refrained the human being from taking up a particular act were treated as the most important sentences among the five types. It was accepted that the positive injunctive sentences primarily prescribe an act as a means of obtaining desired result whereas the negative injunctions refrain a human being from an act which may lead him to some undesired result.

Observations

When one is acquainted with the nature and contents of Brāhmaṇas on one hand and that of Mīmāmsā on the other, it is not very hard to realise that the Brāhmaṇas are the primary data of

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the Mīmāmsā system of Indian Philosophy. Getting inspired from the Brāhmaṇa texts, Jaimini, perhaps, thought it proper to declare that the Veda is meant for inducing a human being into an activity which is conducive to his good. We have seen before that the third presupposition of Mīmāmsā was: *kriyā* is the meaning of the Veda. Thus, Jaimini proclaimed: *Codanālakṣaṇaḥ arthaḥ dharmaḥ*. This means, *dharma* is that which is prescribed by a Vedic injunction and the Vedic injunction alone. This, of course, had the background of the rise of Buddhism and other sects opposing the authority of the Veda. This is how Dharma was identified with *karman or kriyā* or sacrificial act enjoined in the Veda. It is claimed that the whole Veda, is *kriyārtha*, for *kriyā*. Having done this, the system divided the whole Veda into different categories of sentences, as we have mentioned before. Śabara says – मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः । Brāhmaṇa is further divided into *vidhi, nāmadheya, niṣedha* and *arthavāda*.

We have seen that the main contribution of the Brāhmaṇa texts is to show the relationships between the *mantras* and the rites on one hand and to connect different tales and legends with the rituals on the other. For example, the first nine *kāṇḍas* of the *Mādhyandina* recession of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* constitute a close and continuous commentary on the first eighteen chapters of the *Vājasaneyī-Samhitā*, quoting, explaining and liturgically employing the *mantras*. Pūrvamīmāmsā took the Brāhmaṇas as the basis of the edifice of the system and built the architectonic of the same on that.

The methodology of discussion adopted by the Mīmāmsā system is known as *Adhikaraṇa-paddhati*. An *adhikaraṇa* consists of five aspects: *viṣaya* (topic) *viśaya* (doubt regarding the topic), *pūrvapakṣa* (the prima-facie view or views about the same), *uttarapakṣa* (the final view about it) and *saṅgati* (coherence).

This style of the system is also one can say, a gift of the Brāhmaṇa literature. Because, the Brāhmaṇas, on various occasions, do discuss

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different views regarding a certain ritual and ultimately give the final decision about it. In the *Adhikaraṇa-paddhati*, actually, this style is accepted may be in a more systematic manner. But there should not be any doubt that this is employed by the Brāhmaṇas for the first time.

One does get the references such as *Mīmāmsante* or *mīmamsam cakruḥ* in the *Yajurveda*, particularly the *Taittirīya Samhitā*. These references are actually the seeds of the great system of Mīmāmsā.

The contribution of Mīmāmsā is: Jaimini systematised the thought occurring in the Brāhmaṇas to the fullest extent and the commentator Śabara gave it the concrete shape by providing appropriate examples from the Veda, mainly the Brāhmaṇas. If one looks into the discussion on the defining of the five categories of Vedic sentences in the Mīmāmsā system one can easily understand how this exegesis is inspired by the same in the Brāhmaṇa texts. Let us take only one example to cut the long story short, which more than shows the intimate relationship between the Brāhmaṇas and the Pūrvamīmāmsā. The example is that of the definition of *vākya* given by Jaimini. The context in which Jaimini defines *vākya* (sentence) is deciding the extent of a *Yajurmantra* because many a time a *Yajurmantra* is in prose. Śabara argues: it is easy to decide the limit of a sentence when it is metrical but it is hard when the same is in prose as is the case of many *Yajurmantras*. So in this context, *Jaimini* defines sentence as: (*JS.* II.1.46) अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात् ।

Śabara explains it with the help of one *Yajus* formula, देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां, पूष्णो हस्ताभ्याम् अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि । This *Yajurmantra* occurs in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (I.1.4). Śabara explains, as the whole *mantra* is uttered when *nirvāpa* is done, it is only one sentence.

यावता पदसमूहेनेज्यते तावान् पदसमूहः एकं यजुः । कियता चेज्यते । यावता क्रियाया उपकारः प्रकाश्यते तावद्वक्तव्यत्वाद् वाक्यमित्युच्यते । तेनाभिधीयते – अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यमिति ।

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This idea, one thinks, he must have got from the study of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. The *mantra*, Śabara has taken as an example occurs frequently in the Brāhmaṇas. It is sometimes:

देवस्यत्वा सवितुः प्रसवे अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्याम् पूष्णो हस्ताभ्याम् अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि ।

Sometimes it is :

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यम् अग्नये जुष्टम् अधिवपामि ।

And still at another occasion it is:

देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्याम् अग्नये जुष्टं गृह्णामि ।

These *mantras* are used, as the Brāhmaṇa states, for the acts of Nirvāpa, Adhivāpa and Grahaṇa, respectively.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I.1.2,17) explains :

अथ गृह्णाति । देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां अग्नये जुष्टं गृह्णामि इति सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता तत्सवितृप्प्रसूत एवैतद् गृह्णाति अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यामिति अश्विनावध्वर्यू पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यामिति पूषा भागदुघोऽशनं पाणिभ्यामुपनिधाता सत्यं देवा अनृतं मनुष्याः तत्सत्येनैवेतद् गृह्णाति ।

It is obvious from this that it is the Brāhmaṇas which Mīmāmsā has taken as authority for deciding the unit of Yajurmantra. Kumārila explains (*Tantravārttika* on *Śābarabhāṣya* on *JS*. II.1.46):

यस्मिन् पदसमूहे शब्दान्तरादिभिर्न भावनान्तरं प्रतिपाद्यते, तस्यैकवाक्यत्वं, भावनान्तरापेक्षया तु नानात्वम् । . . . भेदलक्षणे मन्त्रप्रस्तावे च तद्भेदस्तावद् ऋग्यजुःसामात्मकोऽभिहितः । तदवान्तरभेदाकाङ्क्षायां ऋक्सामानामध्येतृसिद्धे भेदे लक्षणं न क्रियते । यजुषां तु प्रश्लिष्टपठितत्वान्न लक्षणाद्विना भेदज्ञानमित्यारभ्यते ।

Kumārila puts a question in this context:

यजुर्भेदं च मुक्त्वैतद्वाक्यैकत्वस्य लक्षणम् ।
मन्त्र-ब्राह्मण-लोकेषु वक्तव्यं क्वोपयुज्यते ।।

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And further states: ऋक्सामयोस्तावत् परिमाणं प्रयोगसमर्थं प्रसिद्धमिति, न कश्चिद्वाक्यलक्षणादेकवाक्यतालक्षणाद्वा उपकारो भवति । तथा ब्राह्मणे अग्निहोत्रादिवाक्यैः साध्यसाधनेतिकर्तव्यतावत्यां भावनायां नियुक्तेषु पुरुषेषु एकानेकवाक्यज्ञानं क्वोपयुज्यते । ननु अयमुपयोगः एकवाक्यता-लक्षणज्ञो वाक्यभेदं परिहरिष्यति ।

Kumarila argues, the relationship between a *mantra* and the rite which is understood, cannot be rejected: गम्यमानसम्बन्धपरित्यागः अनेकादृष्टकल्पना च दोषः ।

This means: on one hand one cannot ignore the relation between a *mantra* and the act and it is also not desirable to postulate many unseen results when one can do with only one. Actually, this is one important principle of sentence interpretation:

सम्भवति दृष्टफलकत्वे अदृष्टकल्पनाया अन्याय्या ।

This says: when a *dṛṣṭaphala* i.e. a verifiable result is there, one should not go for an unseen one; so also, when one unseen result is sufficient one should not accept more. This is systematisation. Here, actually the opponent has a doubt regarding the need of this systematisation. He argues as the different *pratīkas* (of the *mantras*) are used to show their employment in different acts in the rituals the difference in the sentences is already understood and then what is the need of this definition of sentence? The answer to this is: Though this is many times based on the Brāhmaṇas, the fact is all the mantras have not been employed in the Brāhmaṇas.

न तावत्सर्वेषां ब्राह्मणे विनियोगः अस्ति ।

Hence, a principle of systematisation is required and that principle is *arthaikatva* and *avayavasākāṅkṣatva*. This is the conclusion in this context.

This is just one example that we have discussed here to realise the intimate relationship between Brāhmaṇas and Mīmāmsā. If it is

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true that the aim of Brāhmaṇas is to show the relation between a *mantra* and a rite, if their philosophy is '*Yajña is the śreṣṭhatama karma*' then Mīmāmsā has the same aim and the same philosophy at least in its sources.

Thus, the only point that I wish to make through this paper is : the Brāhmaṇas are the basis of the Mīmāmsā system of Indian philosophy. The contribution of the system is: it has provided the rinks to tie any loose ends left by the Brāhmaṇas. It gave logical explanations for all apparently magical phenomena. This can be seen through many more examples.

Thus, for us, the first half of the comment of Max Muller is only true. The famous comment says, "However interesting the Brāhmaṇas may be for the researcher in the field of Indian literature, they are of little interest for the general educated public". Also the other comment by the same scholar, for us is uncalled for: "Their chief content is prattle and what is worse- theological prattle." He has also said: "Nobody, who does not know the role that Brāhmaṇas play in the history of Indian mind could read more than ten pages without closing the book." This may not be true for us as we know the role that Brāhmaṇas play in the history of the Indian mind!

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ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECOLOGICAL CONCEPTS IN DHARMAŚĀSTRAS

SUNANDA Y. SHASTRI

Environmental and Ecological concern sound very much modern. But when one goes back to history and ancient texts one definitely finds many clues which lead to believe that these concerns were there in the past as well. These notions can be seen clearly in the Dharmaśāstra texts. Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti literature basically lay the rules for society. Almost all aspects of life are considered in it.

It is necessary to understand the concept of environment. Environment is everything that makes up our surroundings and affect our ability to live on the earth. The air, water, plants, animals around us and much more is called environment. Environment includes physical, chemical and other natural forces. They constantly interact with living things.

All organisms, no matter their size, their species or where they live, need to interact with other organisms in their neighbourhood and with their environment in order to survive. Ecology is the scientific study of the interactions between organisms and their environment.

Dharmasūtras are the manuals of human conduct that form the earliest source of Hindu law. Dharmasūtras emerged from Kalpa *sūtras* and are one of the six auxiliary limbs of Vedas. These later expanded into Dharmaśāstra. Dharmasūtras deal with human beings in their social, economic and religious relations. They are composed in prose, in *sūtra* (maxims) form. They were intended to be committed to memory and

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expounded orally by teachers. Dharmaśāstra texts are composed in metered verses and more elaborate in their scope. All Dharmasūtras, Smṛtis and Kauṭiliya's *Arthaśāstra* constitute the Dharmaśāstra.

Many aspects of the education in the ancient times teach us to live in an eco-friendly way. Such eco-friendly life style can be seen in *Gautama Dharamasūtras*. Education taught to depend on nature and preserve the nature. One cannot say that there was exact concept of ecological balance in the Dharmaśāstra or Smṛti texts, but the notions found are nevertheless not deviating from the concept of ecological balance. Ancient Indian education was intensive education pertaining to one single subject thoroughly. Such study continued for twelve years at the Guru's abode. Students lived with their Gurus until they finished education.

While students lived in Guru's abode, they led a lifestyle governed by certain rules. There were rules for the dress they wore. Dress was simple. All students were required to wear *dhotis* as garment down the waist. Deer hide was allowed to cover the upper part of the body, which protected the body from the cold and draught.[1] Colouring of the garments was allowed to certain extent. Colours obtained from certain plants and minerals, like turmeric (yellow colour), *geru* (soft red soil) or *mañjiṣṭha* (red plant extract) or *manaśśiḻa* (red mineral).[2] These materials are abundant in the nature. Their use does not affect the environment or pollute water. Students who wished to dye their clothes were expected to colour themselves. Students were expected to spin the yarn and weave their own clothes. This process of cleaning cotton, and spinning yarn was started by Mahatma Gandhi and was taught in schools with help of Takali and Charkha under 'Jivana Shiksana'.

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1 *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, I.18 : कृष्णरुरुबस्ताजिनानि ।
Maskarī Bhāṣya on the same reads : एतानि क्रमेणोत्तरीयाणि ।

2 *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, 1.21: काषायमप्येके । ; 1.23: माञ्जिष्ठहारिद्रे इतरयोः ।

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Today also many spin yarn at home and buy Khadi cloth in return of that yarn. The Gurukula education taught many arts and crafts which were necessary in day to day practical life.

This lifestyle was necessary since the schools or Gurukulas of the yore were mostly situated away from the towns and cities. They were surrounded by forests. The land belonging to Gurukulas was tilled by the inhabitants, i.e. students. Students came from all layers of society – rich and poor both. Even princes of the land came to learn. Rāma and his brothers attended such school and lived humbly there. Kṛṣṇa also went to Sage Sāndīpani hermitage, lived there like all other students and served Guru.

Students did every kind of work there. Students begged alms for them and for their Guru as well. Students were expected to share their alms with Guru. This kind of discipline kept students humble and they understood value of food and avoided wastage. This humble way of living once imbibed was never forgotten. This bridged the gap between rich and poor considerably. People lived within their limitations. They refrained from extravagant hoarding of goods. It relieved the pressure on natural resources in a considerable way.

Smṛtis gave thought to actual environmental preservation and ecological balance. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* has many rules which amaze us. Smṛti literature is basically code of conduct or general rules for the society. Most of these rules do not change over the time, but there certainly are rules which seem to change according to time. Smṛti texts are divided into three parts. First part prescribes code of conduct. It is called Ācāra. Second deals with laws and punishments and is called Vyavahāra. Third part has rules about atonements. This part is called Prāyaścitta. Rules of Ācāra encompass the whole society.

Preservation of Water bodies

Today with increasing population and with better understanding of sources, we are not careful of our water resources. Smṛtis prescribe

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strict laws against contaminating water-bodies. Today we pollute every possible water source with drainage and industrial affluent.

Manusmṛti (*MS*) IV.56 has a rule which dictates that one should not urinate or defecate or spit in the water; any kind of dirt is not allowed to be thrown in the water:

नाप्सु मूत्रं पुरीषं वा ष्ठीवनं वा समुत्सृजेत् ।
अमेध्यलिप्तमन्यद्वा लोहितं वा विषाणि वा ।।

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (*KA*) (7.12.4) prefers to have running water (rivers, streams etc.) than lakes. Flowing streams provide fresh water to inhabitants and also there is continuous provision for agriculture as well.

Yājñavalkyasmṛti (*YS*) totally prohibits the use of water-bodies like river and ponds for bathing, cleaning body parts, throwing nails and hair and any kind of dirt in the water. The rule by itself brings about its importance:

1. One must not urinate or defecate in the river, in the shade of a tree, on the road, in the cattleshed or in the water (*YS.* I.134) :

न मेहेन्नदीच्छायावर्त्मगोष्ठम्बुभस्मसु ।

2. One must not spit in the water or throw blood, ordure or urine or semen in the water (*YS.* I.137):

ष्ठीवनासृक्शकृन्मूत्ररेतांस्यप्सु न निक्षिपेत् ।

3. One is not allowed to sell like ponds, lakes, well etc. and gardens (*YS.* I. 237) :

मातृपितृसुतत्यागस्तडागारामविक्रयः।

Śaṅkhasmṛti also states that, 'one should not defecate or urinate on the cow-dung, the field which is ploughed and sowed, on green grass, funeral pyre, cemetery, road, grain pounding place, hill and sands by the river, because these places are support of living beings'.

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Preservation of Flora

We find several strict rules in Smṛti literature to preserve flora.

Manu has mentioned many rules not to cut trees; in the form of atonement he prescribes the following:

1. If one cuts fruit yielding trees, one has to recite one hundred *ṛks* as atonement. Same atonement, is for cutting shrubs, creepers, flowering plants etc (*MS.* XI.142) :

फलदानां तु वृक्षाणां छेदने जप्यमृक्शतम् ।
गुल्मवल्लीलतानां च पुष्पितानां च वीरुधाम् ।।

2. If minute life forms bred in food, condiments, flowers etc. are killed, then one has to take little quantity of ghee only and go without food for one day (*MS.* XI.143):

अन्नाद्यजानां सत्त्वानां रसजानां च सर्वशः ।
फलपुष्पोद्भवानां च घृतप्राशो विशोधनम् ।।

3. If anyone destroys, plants produced by cultivation or plants spontaneously grown in the forest without any reason, then the person will tend to a cow for one day and fast for one day only with milk (*MS.* XI.144):

कृष्टजामोषधीनां जातानां च स्वयं वने ।
वृथालम्भऽनुगच्छेदां दिनमेकं पयोव्रतः।।

4. One should not go near the trees at night (*MS.* IV.73cd):

रात्रौ च वृक्षमूलानि दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ।

Today we know that trees emit carbon- di- oxide at night, therefore one should avoid to be near trees at night. This seems to be a common knowledge about trees and their cycles at the period of *MS.*

Smṛtis prohibit cutting green trees, useful trees, tender leaves of trees and fruit bearing trees. There are fines ordained for cutting trees in *MS* :

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1. A fine must be levied for injuring trees and all other kinds of flora according to the usefulness of several kinds of trees (*MS.* VIII.285):

वनस्पतीनां सर्वेषामुपभोगो यथा यथा ।
तथा तथा दमः कार्यो हिंसायामिति धारणा ।।

2. The fine for stealing flowers, corn in the field, shrubs, small trees, and unhusked grain is five *kṛṣṇalas* (five gold or silver *guñja*) (*MS.* VIII.330):

पुष्पेषु हरिते धान्ये गुल्मवल्लीनगेषु च ।
अन्येष्वपरिपूतेषुदण्डः स्यात् पञ्चकृष्णलः ।।

There are many such rules in *YS*, which show a deep concern about environment:

1. If one cuts the tree which has long and stout branches or uproots the tree having sprouts or cut trees which are means of livelihood, then the person is fined. The fine begins with twenty *paṇas* and could amount to the double of that amount (*YS.* II.227):

प्ररोहिशाखिनां शाखास्कंधसर्वविदारणे ।
उपजीव्यद्रुमाणां च विशतेर्द्विगुणो दमः ।।

2. In the case of cutting trees growing in a sacrificial place, a cemetery,a boundary, a sacred place or a temple or well known trees, like Pippala, Palāśa and Banyan the fine ordained is double than prescribed in earlier rule. etc. (trees of ficus family) (*YS.* II. 228):

चैत्यश्मशानः पुण्यस्थाने सुरालये ।
जातद्रुमाणां द्विगुणो दमो वृक्षे अथ विश्रुते ।।

3. If anyone causes injury to any part of Gulma (short thick creepers; Guccha (short shrubs); Kṣupa (straight plants); Pratana (creepers

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withoutknots or off shoots); Latā (long creepers); Oṣadhi (plants that grow fruit like paddy plant–*Mitākṣarā* on *YS.* II.229) and Vīrudha (those plants when cut grow and develop again), the fine is fifty percent less than earlier rule (*YS.* II.229):

गुल्मगुच्छक्षुपलता प्रतानौषधिवीरुधाम् ।
पूर्वस्मृतादर्धदण्डः स्थानेषूक्तेषु कर्तने ।।

4. One must not cut green trees for the sake of fuel (*YS.* III. 240) : इन्धनार्थं द्रुमच्छेदः।

Though there are fines prescribed for cutting trees, atonements have also been prescribed for the same. Atonement for the culprit is, reciting one hundred *ṛks* for cutting trees, short thick creepers and long creeper; if one cuts fruit bearing plants without any reason, then he should tend the cows for one day and take only milk as food and abstain from taking any-other food (*YS.* III.276):

वृक्षगुल्मलतावीरुच्छेदने जप्यमृक्शतम् ।
स्यादोषधि वृथाच्छेदे क्षीराशा गोनुगो दिनम् ।।

Aforestation

Arthaśāstra has many rules which suggest that concern about environment was an important issue of the statecraft. Kauṭilya says that, the director of the forest should make an enclosure for deer, beasts and birds and wild animals. He should look after preservation of grass and fuel (*KA.* II.17.16) :

अङ्गारतुषभस्मानि, मृगपशुपक्षितलवाटाः काष्ठतृणवाटाश्च ।

Enclosure is the place where these animals live in their natural habitat and do not come to human habitat and destroy crops. These enclosures were the forests planted and cultivated. The thinkers and rulers knew the benefits of such environments, therefore, they were keen to grow and preserve them.

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It was part of state policy that forests should be grown on the border of the state. One should raise thick forest rich in material where elephants can be raised (*KA*.7.12.6-8):

द्रव्यवनयोरपि यो महत्सारवद्द्रव्याटवीकं विषयान्ते नदीमातृकं द्रव्यवनं छेदयति सो अतिसंधते । नदीमातृकं हि स्वाजीवमपाश्रयश्चापदि भवति । हस्तिवनयोरपि यो बहुशूरमृगं दुर्बलप्रतिवेशमनन्तावक्लेशि विषयान्ते हस्तिवनं बध्नाति सो अतिसंधते ।

This is in the chapter of pacts and treaties. A king should choose a land on the border which is watered by a flowing river and which has easy means of livelihood. Such forest land becomes a refuge in the times of trouble.

Kauṭilya's statecraft has created a post for the Director of forests *Kupyādhyakṣa* (*KS*. 2.17). The Director of forests is supposed to nurture forests, have control over the produce of forests and start factories for forest produce. He is also authorized to fix dues for cutting forest produce. He also had authority in inflicting penalty (*KA*.2.17.2-3): द्रव्यवनकर्मान्तांश्च प्रयोजयेत् । द्रव्यवनच्छिदां च देयमत्ययं च स्थापयेत् अन्यत्रापद्भ्यः ।

These forests were planted with various kind of trees like – *śāka, tiniśa, dhanvana, arjuna, madhūka, tilaka, sāla, śimśapā, arimeda, rājādana, śirīṣa, khadira, sarala, tāla, sarja, aśvakarṇa, somavalka, kuśa, āmra, priyaka, dhavādi*. This is a group of hardwood (*KA*. 2.17.4) :

शाक–तिनिश–धन्वन–अर्जुन–मधूक–तिलक–साल–शिंशपा–अरिमेद–राजादन–शिरीष–खदिर–सरल–ताल–सर्ज–अश्वकर्ण–सोमवल्क–कुश–आम्र–प्रियक–धवादिःसारदारुवर्गः।

It means trees were planted according to the kind of wood they produce and according to the species they are in.

Other variety is reed group, i.e. variety of bamboo. It consists of *uṭaja, cimiya, cāpa, veṇu, vamśa, satina, kaṇṭaka, bhallūka* and others (*KA*. 2.17.5):

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उटज-चिमिय-चाप-वेणु-वंश-सातिन-कंटक-भल्लूकादिः वेणुवर्गः ।

Then there is group of creepers like *vetra, śīkavalli, vāśī, śyāmalatā, nāgalatā,* etc (*KA*. 2.17.6):

वेत्र-शीकवल्ली-वाशी-श्मामलता-नागलतादिः वल्लीवर्गः।.

Mālatī, murva, arka, śaṇa, gavedhuka, atasī, etc are the fibre plants (*KA*. 2.17.7):

मालती-मूर्व-अर्क-शण-गवेधुक-अतसी-आदिः वल्कवर्गः ।

Yarn can be drawn from these plants for the purpose of weaving different kinds of clothes. *Muñj, balbaja* etc are the varieties of grass which are used to make ropes (*KA*. 2.17.8) : मुञ्जबल्बजादि रज्जुभाण्डम् ।

Leaves of *tālī, tāla* and *bhūrja* were used for making plates for eating and many other purpose (*KA*. 2.17.9) : तालीतालभूर्जानां पत्रम् ।

These trees and creepers were planted in forests created by the state. These forests kept the environment green. The products added to the revenue of the state. They became habitat for many wild animals and also many small animals. birds and insects and aquatic animals which in itself formed an ecosystem. *KA* also suggests that there should be separate enclosure for fuel and grass (*KA*. 2.17.16). Here fuel means the trees which can be used as fuel. They were separately grown and were not allowed to be cut. The forests were guarded closely. Guards escorted those persons whowent into the forests to bring forest produce and delivered it to the factories (*KA*. 2.17.1). It means grassland for fodder, trees grown for fuel and forests were totaly separate.

Fauna

There are rules which ordain punishment to those who harm the animals. These rules show concern about the environment and the ecosystem. Care for animals like elephants to tiny insects like ants are given attention in *MS*. They are –

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1. King should punish the thieves who steal big animals like horse, cow, elephant etc. and medicinal plants according to time and purpose (*MS.* VIII. 324):

महापशूनां हरणे शस्त्राणां औषधस्य च ।
कालमासाद्य कार्यं च दण्डं राजा प्रकल्पयेत् ।।

2. One should walk on the earth observing carefully, so that small insects and other life forms like ants etc. are protected.

Atonement and Penances

Atonement is a wonderful concept in Dharmaśāstra. There always are mistakes and mishaps happening in our lives. Law does not catch you at that. Many times no one knows about it except the doer. One can easily shake off such guilt. But Dharmaśāstra do not allow this to happen. It wants people to be conscientious and preserve life which cannot be replaced. Also, there are penances to be performed. These penances are self inflicted punishments. These make people sensitive about other life and *MS* has laid down certain atonements for the killing of animals and birds as follows:

1. If one kills cat, mongoose, Cāṣa bird, frog, dog, monitor lizard, owl and crow, then one has to perform an atonement ritual for six months (*MS.* XI.131) :

मार्जारनकुलौ हत्वा चाषं मण्डूकमेव च ।
श्वगोधोलूककाकांश्च शूद्रहत्याव्रतं चरेत् ।।

Killing such small animals or birds was considered equal to killing of a human being.

2. A Brāhmaṇa should give a spade of iron in charity if he kills a snake (*MS.* XI.133):

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अभ्रिं कार्ष्णायसीं दद्यात् सर्पं हत्वा द्विजोत्तमः ।

3. If one kills a boar he should give a pot of clarified butter in charity. A drone of sesame for killing a partridge and a heifer should be given to a Brāhmaṇa if one kills a parrot (*MS.* XI.134):

घृतकुम्भं वराहे तु तिलद्रोणं च तित्तिरौ ।
शुके द्विहायनं वत्सं क्रौश्चं हत्वा त्रिहायणम् ।।

4. If one kills swan or a crane or a heron or a peacock or a monkey or a Bhāsa bird, then he will have to give a cow in charity to Brāhmaṇa (*MS.* XI.135) :

हत्वा हंसं बलाकां च बकं बर्हिणमेव च ।
वानरं श्येनभासौ च स्पर्शयेद् ब्राह्मणाय गाम् ।।

5. One should give a garment in charity if one kills a horse; if one kills an elephant, then he will have to give five black bulls in charity. For killing a goat or a sheep or a donkey, one has to give one year old heifer. The rule of black bull shows the harshness of atonement. It would obviously be difficult to find black bulls at one place; one would have to take lot of trouble to find black bulls to complete the ritual of atonement. This rigorous atonement imbibes the seriousness of the crime in the minds of people and culprit himself (*MS.* XI.136):

वासो दद्याद् हयं हत्वा पञ्च नीलान्वृषान्गजम् ।
अजमेषावनड्वाहं खरं हत्वैकहायनम् ।।

6. Killing of carnivorous animals also was prohibited. One would have to give a milch cow in charity. A heifer should be given for killing wild animals which are not carnivorous. One Kṛṣṇala[3] should be given for killing a camel (*MS.*XI.137):

3 *Kṛṣṇalā,* the blackberry of the plant *Abrus precatorious* used as a weight.

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क्रव्यादांस्तु मृगान्हत्वा धेनुः दद्यात्पयस्विनीम् ।
अक्रव्यादान्वत्सतरीमुष्ट्रं हत्वा तु कृष्णलम् ।।

7. It is also mentioned in the *MS* that a Brāhmaṇa cannot atone the killing of snake and other animals just by giving something in charity. Therefore, he should perform penances like Kṛcchra etc (*MS.* XI.139) :

दानेन वधनिर्णेकं सर्पादीनामशक्नुवन् ।
एकैकशश्चरेत्कृच्छ्रं द्विजः पापापनुत्तये ।।

Preservation of General Envirenment

MS. has number of rules for preservation of general environment, like –

1. Every day one should offer little part of one's food to dogs, birds and insects and sick and down-trodden people (*MS.* III.92) :

शुनां च पतितानां च श्वपचां पापरोगिणाम् ।
वायसानां कृमीणां च शनकैर्निर्वपेद्भुवि ।।

Importance of food is well understood by Smṛtis. This food should not be thrown, but put down on the earth carefully, so that dust is not mixed with the food.

2. There is a long list of birds and animals which should not be eaten. This is due to the reason that one who kills non-violent animals for his own pleasure, does not get any happiness either here or hereafter. (*MS.* V.45) :

यो अहिंसकानि भूतानि हिनस्त्यात्मसुखेच्छया ।
स जीवंश्च मृतश्चैव न क्वचित्सुखमेधते ।।

He who does not cause bondage, killing and torture to animals and think of their happiness, indeed attains happiness hereafter (*MS.* V.46) :

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यो बन्धनवधक्लेशान्प्राणिनां न चिकिर्षति ।
स सर्वस्य हितप्रेप्सुः सुखमत्यन्तमश्नुते ।।

3. One cannot get the flesh to eat unless one kills animals. Killing animals would not get heaven for one. Therefore, one should stop eating flesh (*MS.* V.48):

नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसा मांसमुत्पद्यते क्वचित् ।
न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्ग्यः तस्मान्मांसं विवर्जयेत् ।।

4. All animals are born of flesh, therefore, they experience suffering and pain when killed and put in bondage. Thinking carefully about this one should abstain from eating flesh (*MS.* V.49):

समुत्पत्तिं च मांसस्य वधबन्धौ च देहिनाम् ।
प्रसमीक्ष्य निवर्तेत सर्वमांसस्य भक्षणात् ।।

5. Dharmaśāstra literature also creates inner ban for killing. It speaks about sin and merit and its fruit. Killing is sin. One who wants to nourish his flesh with the flesh of others, is indeed a sinner (*MS.* V.52):

स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति ।
. . . ततो अन्यो नास्ति अपुण्यकृत् ।।

6. He who consents, who kills, who cuts limbs, who sells and who buys, who prepares and who brings for eating and one who eats all these are assassins (*ghātaka*) (*MS.* V.51):

अनुमन्ता विशसिता निहन्ता क्रयविक्रयी ।
संस्कर्ता चोपहर्ता च खादकश्चेति घातकाः ।।

All these rules show the concern for environment as well as ecological balance. This is the reason for the following list of animals and birds which are prohibited from being eaten

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(*MS.* V.11-15): one should not eat birds like vultures, doves, and other birds (which seem to include all other birds) and whole hoofed animals. Sparrows, watercock, swan, Cakravāka, Cātaka, hens and cocks, cranes, wild birds, parrots, woodpecker and duck etc. whose feet are webbed, hawk, raven, fishes, dogs etc., and snakes and monkeys should not be eaten. Existence of all these birds and animals is interdependent.

Yājñavalkyasmṛti has also prohibited killing of animals. It is obvious from many rules laid down by *YS.* Such as –

1. If one kills animals, like cat, monitor lizard, mongoose, frogs, small birds like sparrow, blue jay etc. and then one should drink milk at night for three days, fast during day time and walk for eight miles (*YS.* III.270):

मार्जारगोधानकुलमंडूकांश्च पतत्रिणः ।
हत्वा त्र्यहं पिबेत्क्षीरं कृच्छ्रं वा पादिकं चरेत् ।।

2. If one kills an elephant, he should give five black bulls in charity. If one kills a parrot, then two year old calf should be given in charity. If a donkey, goat, or sheep is killed, then one bull should be given or three year old calf should be given in charity (*YS.* III.271):

गजे नीलवृषाः पंच शुके वत्सो द्विहायनः ।
खराजमेषेषु वृषो देयः क्रौञ्चे त्रिहायनः ।।

Similar rule about an elephant is found in *MS.*

3. If one kills animals like tiger, monkey, fox, birds like eagle, falcon, hawk, vulture etc. and aquatic animals and wading birds like crane and land birds like peacock etc. he should give one cow with a calf in charity (*YS.* III.272):

हंसश्येनकपिक्रव्याज्जलस्थलशिखण्डिनः ।
भासं च हत्वा दद्याद्गामक्रव्यादस्तु वत्सिकाम् ।।

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All these rules point towards a very sensitive approach to the ecological balance. The birds and animals and aquatic life forms mentioned here are not all pet or tamed animals, which live in human habitat. Many of them are living in the wild and most of them are more useful for ecological balance and for preservation of environment. That is why their preservation is taken so seriously. Smṛtis do not allow any animal to be beaten or hurt. There is fine for beating animals; if they start bleeding, fine starts from two paṇas (*YS.* III.225):

दुःखे च शोणितोत्पादे शाखाङ्गच्छेदने तथा ।
दण्डः क्षुद्रपशूनां च द्विपणप्रभृतिः क्रमात् ॥

YS (I.181) speaks about rewards of non-violence. Even simple householder can earn the fruit of Aśvamedha sacrifice and all his wishes are fulfilled and he becomes at par with a sage, only if he abstains from eating flesh.

There are several rules in Smṛtis which give a feeling that they are trying to safeguard rights of those life forms other than humans. Smṛtis talk about caring for minutest of the life forms. *YS* says (III.275), if minute life forms generated in flowers, fruits, food and juices like sugarcane are destroyed, then one should take little ghee for subsistence and fast for one day. If small animals like chameleon etc. having bones are destroyed, then one should give grain and gold in charity. For those not having bones, one should do one breathing exercise .

Now everyone knows that birds, aquatic animals, animals moving in the forest and animals, birds etc. living in human habitat contribute to the ecological balance. It is chain of interdependence of existence. If, even one link in this chain is broken, then the subtle balance is destroyed. It is necessary, therefore to protect it.

Such direct and indirect approach for the preservation of environment and ecological balance can be seen in the Smṛtis. It could be the foresight

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for preservation of nature, with the under-standing that survival of the nature is the survival of humankind. Such strict rules concerning environment become vital in the society of the contemporary times which faces some severe problems related to ecological and environmental imbalance.

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METAPHYSICAL LANDSCAPE, INTERIOR LANDSCAPE : TWO VARIANTS OF MYTHICAL-RELIGIOUS GEOGRAPHY WITHIN ANCIENT INDIAN WORLDVIEW

ALBERTO PELISSERO

1 – Introduction

1.1 – Definitions

Mythical and religious geography of India is a subject that has with scientific geography (in its main branches, e.g. anthropical, climatic, economic, physical, political) a relationship being similar to the one relating alchemy with chemistry: it works through a taxonomy that is much more qualitative than quantitative. This does not mean at all that this kind of science does not have an experimental side: in fact, particularly in its specific modality as interior landscape, it recalls the mystical experience practised by generations of initiates. Within the limits of this essay, we will try to present a review of its two main variants, indicated respectively as metaphysical landscape and interior landscape. With the expression metaphysical landscape we mean an ideal cosmography, trying to detect the origin of the universe within a net of correspondences, including mainly a strict conformity between macrocosm and microcosm, in order to sketch a taxonomy of reality being able to delineate a system of categories. This kind of description does not entail necessarily a strict correspondence with the chorographical description of the external world. On the other side, we define as interior landscape the harmonic combination within the sphere of the sacred of places, times, meanings, rites and behaviours, in the conscious attempt to obtain a full equiparation between

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the interior dimension of human microcosm and the exterior dimension of macrocosm. This equiparation is provisionally identified e.g. in a site being visited by pilgrims within the context of religious pilgrimage. However, interior landscape meets a more general requirement: to find a precise correspondence between interior microcosm and exterior macrocosm. This identification happens through the careful practice of a series of symbolic equivalences between both levels of existence, in order to repair their scission and reinstate their unity.

1. 2 – Modalities

The modalities of metaphysical and interior landscape under consideration correspond with two different literary genres of Sanskrit literacy: Epics (*Itihāsa*) and Tantrism. In the first case it is a wide literary genre with many branches, including first of all the two main epic poems of India tradition, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and in second place the collections of the 'ancient stories', the *purāṇas*. Epic geographical taxonomy describes the world on an horizontal level, according to a concentric structure alternating circular continents (*dvīpa*) and ring oceans (*sāgara*, *samudra*). Continents are five, surrounded by six oceans, in the *Mahābhārata*; seven, surrounded by seven oceans, in the *purāṇas*. It is not possible to determine whether it is a Puranic addition to a more ancient epic list with five members, or a reduction of a more ancient Puranic list with seven members having been effected in the epics, due to the incertain relative chronology of the two subgenres.[1] The term translated with 'continent', *dvīpa*, has an interesting etymology, being formed with the numeral *'dvi'* – 'two' and with *'ap'* – 'water' (*in fine compositi 'ap'* becomes *'īpa'* when it follows *'ī'*). Therefore it is a segment of land above sea level

1 See P. Chierichetti, *Sette isole Sette oceani, Il Bhūmiparvan: Geografia, miti e misteri nel Mahābhārata*, Edizioni Ester, Caprie 2016, p. 66 f.

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being surrounded by two segments of water: so the translation with 'continent' (indicating a wide estension) alternates with the alternative translation with 'island'. In the second context, the Tantric one, the correspondences between the macrocosmic and the microcosmic structure, being already implicit in the Epic and Puranic system, are made more explicit, in order to leave no doubt at all about the effective correspondence between external world and internal physical reality included within human body.

1.3. – Vedic roots

Vedic roots may be detected for both systems, because the first thoughts about space are to be found precisely within the Veda. In the *Ṛgveda* the universe is conceived as a triadic entity, including heaven (where gods live), atmosphere or intermediate space (where such beings as *gandharvas*, *apsarases*, *vidyādharas* live, these being less powerful than gods but more powerful than mankind) and finally earth (where human beings live). These three spheres correspond with three words being able to resume their respective powers, invocations that together form the triple utterance *bhūr bhuvaḥ svar* (standing respectively for 'earth', 'intermediate space' and 'heaven'), being defined as the 'utterance', *vyāhṛti*, par excellence, an invocation being uttered by each and every observant *brāhmaṇa* thrice every day (at sunrise, at midday and at sunset), included within the 'formula of the singing lady', the *gāyatrīmantra*. Adding to this triple invocation four more modalities (*mahar*, *janar*, *tapar*, *satya*), we obtain the system of the seven worlds (*loka*, see *infra*). Earth is pointed at with terms having to do either with its wideness (*pṛthivī*, from *pṛthu*, 'wide') or with its roundness (*aṇḍakaṭāha*). The idea that the shell of the universe has the shape of an egg (*aṇḍa*) is very diffused, and it will find an echo within Tantric conceptions, where the cosmic egg, the shell of

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Brahmā (*brahmāṇḍa*) is put in relation with the somatic egg, the shell made with flesh (*piṇḍāṇḍa*). This conception finds a finished expression in a well-known Upanishadic passage:

The sun is *brahman* : this is the prescription. Its explanation is as follows: in origin this was only not being (*asat*). That became being (*sat*), so it manifested itself. That assumed the form of an egg (*aṇḍa*). That lied for the space of one year, then it became different, the two halves of the egg became goldand argent. [1]

The argent half became earth, the gold half became heaven; the external membrane became the mountains, the internal shell became moisture together with clouds, the veins became the rivers, the water within the bladder became the ocean.[2] [2]

2. – Epic and Puranic context

2.1 – Vertical and horizontal dimensions

The Epic and Puranic system of seven continents and seven oceans follows a horizontal dimension, having properly geographical features. It overlaps imperfectly a different system, this one following a vertical dimension, so being more markedly a cosmological structure. This last system too is based upon a heptad: the system of the seven worlds (*loka*, incertain the relation with Latin *lūcus*, 'clearing') hinted at *supra*. The *saptaloka* system includes the worlds of earth (home of human beings), intermediate space (home of the ancestors, *pitṛ*), heaven (paradises of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra, Kṛṣṇa), light (home of a number of 'Lord of born ones', Prajāpati), beings generated by the mind of the divine demiurge Brahmā, ascetic heat (home of Virāj), truth (home of Brahmā) (*bhū*, *bhuvar-*, *svar-*, *mahar-*, *jano-*, *tapo-* and

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2 *Chāndogyopaniṣad,* 3.19.1-2 (translations from Sanskrit are by the author, unless differently indicated).

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satya-loka alias brahmaloka); under them are situated seven infernal regions in descending order (*atala, vitala, sutala, rasātala, talātala, mahātala, pātāla*). According to Tantric sources (such as the *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*, chapter six of Pūrṇānandagiri's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*), to the seven *lokas* corresponds an equal number of energy wheels (*cakra*), being situated within the human microcosm, proceeding from bottom upwards: (1) the wheel of root support (*mūlādhāracakra*), at the basis of the spinal column, in the space between the root of the penis and the anus, where there is a lotus with four petals having the colour of blood, characterized by the seminal syllable (*bījamantra*) *lam*, by the Goddess Ḍākinī and by the animal vehicle elephant; (2) the wheel of its own seat (*svādhiṣṭhānacakra*), at the basis of the penis (for this very reason is called alternatively *meḍhrādhāra*), where there is a lotus with six petals having the colour vermilion, characterized by *bījamantra vam*, by the Goddess Ṛākinī and by the animal vehicle crocodile; (3) the wheel of the citadel of jewels (*maṇipūracakra*), in the lumbar region in correspondence with the navel, where there is a lotus with ten petals having the colour blue or gold, characterized by *bījamantra vam*, by the Goddess Rākinī and by the animal vehicle ram; (4) the wheel of the sound being not born from percussion (*anāhatacakra*), in the cardiac plexus, where there is a lotus with twelve petals having the colour vermilion, characterized by *bījamantra yam*, by the Goddess Kākinī and by the animal vehicle antelope; (5) the wheel of purification (*viśuddhicakra, alias viśuddhacakra*, purified), in the region of throat, where there is a lotus with sixteen petals having the colour dark or gold, characterized by *bījamantra ham*, by the Goddess Śākinī and by the animal vehicle white elephant; (6) the wheel of command (*ājñācakra*), in the space between the eyebrows, where there is a lotus with two petals having the colour white, characterized by *bījamantra om*, by the Goddess Hākinī and by the animal vehicle wild goose; (7) the lotus with a thousand petals (*sahasrārapadma*), at times (and not entirely

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properly) being defined even as wheel of a thousand petals (*sahasrāracakra*), situated at the top of the head, being provided with a thousand petals colourless, and known with a number of synonyms, the most important of them being seat of *brahman*, hole of *brahman*, wheel of extinction (respectively *brahmasthāna*, *brahmarandhra*, *nirvāṇacakra*). The lotus with a thousand petals concludes the series, but at the same time it transcends it, because it has no more correspondences at all in terms ofcolour of the petals, tutelar deity, seminal syllable or animal vehicle.[3]

2.2 – The lotus with four petals

Probably some time before the horizontal model based on the heptad was extensively diffused, an alternative Puranic system divides the whole of the inhabited world in four slopes (*varṣa*), being conceived like the four petals of a lotus. The system takes the name of *caturdvīpā vasumatī*, '[earth] guardian of treasures with four islands': mount Meru, *axis mundi*, being its pericarp, the four islands being its petals, each of them oriented according to a different cardinal point: (Uttara) Kuru in the North; Jambu or Bhārata in the South (India, identified alternatively either as the island of the rose apple tree or as earth of the eponymous hero Bharata); Bhadrāśva in the East; Ketumāla in the West.[4]

2.3 – Seven islands seven oceans

The aetiological myth of the foundation of the system of seven islands and seven oceans, *saptadvīpā vasumatī*, '[earth] guardian of

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3 For a specific exam of the *cakras* see A. Pelissero, *I cakra, Le ruote d'energia nella tradizione indiana*, Magnanelli, Torino 2016, pp. 7-10 and *passim*.

4 *Vāyupurāṇa*, 34.37-39 and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 2.2.38, *cit.* in Chierichetti, *Sette isole cit.*, p. 44.

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treasures with seven islands', envisages that the king Priyavrata marks the furrows for the oceans with the wheels of his own cart, creating a concentric ring structure: in each one of the emerged lands one of his sons reigns.[5] Puranic sources, integrated by epic ones, consent to identify a system that on the horizontal level envisages a structure made up by a first central continent (continents are mostly identified by a vegetal species), surrounded by a first ring ocean (oceans are identified by the liquid therein contained), and successively by six additional ring islands (atolls?), surrounded by six additional ring oceans, according to the following outline: (1) Jambudvīpa, island of the rose apple tree (*Eugenia Jambolana*), where men live, at its centre the mount Meru, *axis mundi*, ruled by Āgnīdhra, surrounded by an ocean of salt water(*kṣāra*) named Lavaṇa; (2) Plakṣadvīpa, island of the banyan tree (*Ficus Religiosa*, *aśvattha*), a tree very important for religious Indian symbology, ruled by Medhātithi, surrounded by an ocean of molasses (*ikṣurāsa*) named Ikṣu; (3) Śālmalidvīpa, island of the cotton tree (*Bombax Heptaphyllum* or *Salmalia Malabarica*), ruled by Vapuṣmat, surrounded by an ocean of spirit (*surā*); (4) Kuśadvīpa, island of *kuśa* grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*), being used in ritual practice, ruled by Jyotiṣmat, surrounded by an ocean of purified butter (*sarpis, ghṛta*), being used in ritual practice; (5) Krauñcadvīpa, island of curlew (*krauñca*), ruled by Dyutimat, surrounded by an ocean of curd (*dadhi*), being used in ritual practice; (6) Śākadvīpa, island of teak (*śāka*, *Tectona Grandis*), ruled by Bhavya, surrounded by an ocean of milk (*dugdha, kṣīra*); (7) Puṣkaradvīpa, island of lotus flower (*Nelumbium Speciosum* or *Nymphaea Nelumbo*), ruled by Savala, surrounded by an ocean of

5 *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.1.32-33 and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 2.1 *cit.* in Chierichetti, *Sette isole cit.*, p. 108 fn. 104.

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fresh water (*svādūda*) named Jala.[6] According to certain sources, beyond the last ocean there a is a mountain range whose name defines the conclusive border: Lokāloka, literally 'world-not-world', the border beyond which there is only an indistinct darkness.[7]

2.4 – Nine slopes

An attempt to balance the *caturdvīpā vasumatī* system with the *saptadvīpā vasumatī* system is the system of the nine slopes (*varṣa*), each one of them corresponding to different climatic regions, being present within Jambudvīpa, the internal region inhabited by human beings.[8] All around the *axis mundi* represented by mount Meru lie (1) Ilāvṛta, South of it lies (2) Bhārata, protected at North by mount Himavat and surrounded for three sides by the salt water ocean (corresponding with the Indian subcontinent, with its mount range at North and the peninsular part). North of Himavat lies the slope (3) Kimpuruṣa (taking its name from mythical beings defined as anthropoids, 'a sort of man'), protected at North by mount Hemakūṭa beyond it lies the slope (4) Hari, divided from Ilāvṛta by mount Niṣadha. North of Ilāvṛta lies the mount Nīla ('dark'), beyond it lies the slope (5) Ramyaka, protected at North by mount Śveta ('white'). North of it

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6 See W.Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder, nach Quellen dargestellt*, K. Schroeder, Bonn / Leipzig 1920, pp. 1-177, and for more detailed study S.M. Ali, *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi 1966; D.C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Indian Studies: Past & Present, Calcutta, 1967; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1971; S.N. Pande, *Geographical Horizon of the Mahābhārata*, Oriental Publishers, Varanasi, 1980.

7 See W. Doniger, *Dream Illusion and other Realities*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1984, Indian edition Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987, figure 4 p. 204.

8 *Vāyupurāṇa* 33-34; *Matsyapurāṇa* 113; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 54 *cit.* in Chierichetti, *Sette isole cit.*, p. 49. See B. Dube, *Geographical Concepts in Ancient India*, National Geographical Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1967, p. 82.

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lies the *varṣa* (6) Hiraṇmaya ('golden'), protected at North by mount Śṛṅgin or Śṛṅgaka ('crested' or 'horned'), beyond it lies the slope (7) (Uttara) Kuru, protected at North by the salt water ocean. East of Ilāvṛta lies (8) Bhadrāśva, West of Ilāvṛta lies (9) Ketumāla. Notions of physical geography and mythical cosmography blend inextricably in this model, that reveals its limits, being neither enough credible as an instrument of geographic knowledge, nor enough elegant and coherent as a paradigm of mythical cosmography.

3 – Tantric context

3.1 – The *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* and its context

The *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, ascribed to Gorakṣanātha, the master Gorakhnāth founder of the *siddhas*, 'perfect ones' [9] is a Tantric text origined in the North-West (XII-XIII sec. CE), including one of the first systematic presentations of the doctrine of *haṭhayoga*. Particularly, in chapter 3 (verses 1-14), named *piṇḍasamvitti*, 'understanding of the bolus of flesh', we find an amazing parallel between the structure of human body (based on the concept of *piṇḍa*) and the system of mythical geography (based on the concept of *aṇḍa*). We could call it somatic geography, a paradigm particularly diffused within the area of interest of the schools following *haṭhayoga*. The concepts of macrocosm and microcosm find a strict correspondence in two Indian terms, *brahmāṇḍa* and *piṇḍāṇḍa*. The first term, 'egg of Brahmā', is the representation of the cosmos in an embryonic stage, enclosed within a shell, including in it the whole of the universe as known to us. The second

9 The term is potentially ambiguous, because it includes different subtypologies: the devotees of Tantric practices (*kaulasiddha*), the alchemists (*rasasiddha*), the buddhist adepts (*mahāsiddha*), the followers of *tamil* medicine (*cittar*), and lastly the ascetics practicing *hamsayoga*, the (*nātha*) *siddhas*, that is the followers of Gorakhnāth properly.

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term, 'egg made of food', refers to the sacrificial bolus, a sort of ball of pressed rice, being the offer presented to the departed ones, in order that they could be transformed in ancestors in the afterlife. To call the human microcosm *piṇḍāṇḍa* means to refer simultaneously to the indissoluble tie linking the living ones with the dead ones (through the vehicle of funeral and postfuneral rites), to the fact that the physical body is made of food (and the body of the ancestors is made of the food offer), to the fact that the original embryonic form of the body is an undifferentiated mass of flesh (the egg shape of the embryo, from which the body limbs will develop during the embryogeny). Within the body of the *yogin* a number of correspondences are detected: with sacred places, with divine and semidivine beings, and with the subtle elements of the esterior universe. In such a way, to the *axis mundi*, the mount Meru, corresponds within the man the spinal column, to the seven worlds (*loka*) correspond an equal number of energy wheels (*cakra*), to the rivers correspond the channels (*nāḍī*) through which the vital breaths flow, to the seven cosmographical continents correspond the seven somatic tissues (chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and finally sperm in the male and menstrual blood in the female), ending with the conscious principle of macrocosm (the so-called 'golden embryo', *hiraṇyagarbha*), corresponding with the individual conscious principle. The *yogin* is different from the common man in this, that he has a full awareness of this net of correspondences. Within the literary work of Gorakhnāth, the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* represents a sort of bridge connecting his Sanskrit works with his vernacular works. The first group includes technical guides or handbooks, dealing in a colloquial style with theory and practice of *haṭhayoga*, the second group insists more on the personal experience of the *yogin*, using often a set of metaphors or

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allegories referring to subtle or mystical physiology.[10] In these works the ascetic body is often compared with the goldsmith's forge, with a polo field, with a hunt, with a citadel, with a spirit warehouse, with the four cosmic eras (*yuga*), with the geography of the land of the two rivers (Doab), and so on.[11] The *Gorakh Bodh*, written in the form of a dialogue between Gorakh and his master Matsyendranāth, presents a wide range of similar correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm, including such structures as the nine planets, the five elements, the subtle channels, the energy wheels and so on. Cauraṅgināth's *Prāṇ Saṇkali* (XIV century CE) compares the ascetic body to the universe, describing it as an entity including theeight families of snakes, the eight inferior worlds, the seven islands, the seven oceans, the seven rivers, the seven heavens, the fourteen mountains, the five elements, the twentyfive priciples of reality (*tattva*), the 92,000 subtle channels (*nāḍī*, the canonical number being usually inferior, that is 72,000), the 8,400,000 living beings, the seven days of the week, the fifteen days of the lunar cycle, the twelve zodiac signs and so on. Analogies between macrocosm and microcosm are to be found even in the Buddhist *Kālacakratantra* (XI century CE) and in the *Lalitāmāhātmya* being an Appendix to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (X century CE, where it is the body of the Goddess, not the body of the adept, that is compared with the macrocosm, in order to be identified with it).

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10 See A. Pelissero, *Riflessioni sul lessico della 'fisiologia simbolica' in alcuni testi tantrici e dello hamhayoga*, in 'Atti del Sesto e del Settimo Convegno Nazionale di Studi Sanscriti (Venezia, 23 novembre 1990 - Palermo, 20-21 maggio 1993)', Torino 1998, pp. 99-110.

11 See D.G. White, *Le monde dans le corps du siddha. Microcosmologie dans les traditions medievales indiennes*, in *Images du corps dans le monde hindou*, ed. by V. Bouillier and G. Tarabout, CNRS Editions, Paris 2002, pp. 189-212, particularly p. 191 f.

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3.2 – The somatic cosmography of *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, 3.1-14

The technique used to explain the net of correspondences in this passage is probably the practice defined as *nyāsa*, 'superimposition': the ascetic is invited to accomplish an overlapping of cultual images (being iconic or aniconic), accompanied by meditative formulas, upon each and every segment of his own body, using the bilateral bodily symmetry as a sort of road map, in order to transform the body in the abode of the deity, in all its iconic and sonic components (starting with the very same divine name).

It is expressed now the understanding of the bolus of flesh. He who knows within his own body all that is movable and motionless, he will become a *yogin* endowed with the understanding of the body. [1]

The tortoise (*kūrma*) is situated in the foot sole (and the seven hells, *tala*, are under it:) Pātāla in the big toe, Talātala above the big toe, Mahātala in the heel, Rasātala in the ankle, Sutala in the calf, Vitala in the knee and Atala in the thigh. There the seven hells are subdued by the power of Rudra, lord of the gods. Within the body he is Bhāva, who has the form of wrath, that is Rudra, destroyer of the fire of time (Kālāgnirudra). [2]

The earth is situated in the anus, the atmospheric space in the genitals, the heaven in the navel. Thus god Indra abodes in the triple world within the body. Only he who controls all the senses (*indriya*) is Indra. [3]

Maharloka is at the basis of the spinal column, Janoloka in the cavity within it, Tapoloka in the spinal marrow, Satyaloka in the lotus flower of the radical wheel (*cakra*).[12] Thus the primeval demiurge

12 In this passage the symbology being used is a botanical one, the four worlds being compared with the sprout, the hollow, the stalk and the flower (*aṅkura*, *kuhara*, *nāla*, *kamala*).

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Brahmā abodes in the quadruple world within the body, as a personification of pride and self-confidence. [4]

The world of Viṣṇu is situated in the abdomen: there god Viṣṇu accomplishes every sort of activities within the body. The world of Rudra is situated in the heart: there Rudra abides within the body, the very same form of terror. The world of Īśvara is situated in the thorax: there Īśvara abides within the body, the very same form of contentment. In the throat it is situated Nīlakaṇṭha ('he whose throat is blue'): there Nīlakaṇṭha abides continuously within the body. The world of Śiva is situated in the uvula: there Śiva abides within the body, the very same form of insurmountable. The world of Bhairava is situated at the basis of epiglottis: there Bhairava abodes within the body, the very same form of supremacy. In the middle of the forehead there is the world of Anādi ('he who has no beginning'): there Anādi abides within the body, the very same form of beatitude transcending egoity. At the top of the forehead there is the world of family (*kula*):[13] there god Kuleśvara ('lord of the family') abides within the body, the very same form of beatitude. In the [left] temple, in the region of the celestial Gaṅgā, god Akuleśvara ('lord without family') abides within the body, the very same form of humility. In the cranium fontanelle there is the world of supreme *brahman* (*parabrahman*): there god supreme *brahman* abides within the body, the very same form of complete fullness. In the superior lotus [14] there is the world of supreme and not supreme (*parāpara*): there god Parameśvara ('supreme lord') abides within the body, he whose state is supreme and not supreme. In the region of the triple peak (*trikūṭi*, probably a portion of the

13 The reference is to the family born out of initiation, being formed by the master, by his wife and by the disciples, being equated with the sons of the couple.

14 Probably the thousand petals lotus (*sahasrārapadma*), important element of subtle physiology.

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cranial vault or skullcap) there is the world of Śakti ('potency'): there the supreme Śakti abides within the body, being the deity of each and every female beings, omnipresence and universal causality. In such a way the seven hells and the twentyone regions of Brahmā's world are arranged within the body.[15] [5]

Brahmans are present here [in the body] in its stable activities, warriors (*kṣatriya*) in its achievements, peasants (*vaiśya*) in its decisions, servants (*śūdra*) in its acts of service, the sixtyfour social groups bound to colours (*varṇa*) in the sixtyfour arts (*kalā*). [6]

Now are listed the seven oceans and the seven islands. Jambudvīpa is in the marrow, Śākadvīpa in the bone, Sūkṣmadvīpa in the head, Krauñcadvīpa in the skin, Śālmalidvīpa in the pores, Śvetadvīpa in the nails and Plakṣadvīpa in the flesh. Such are the seven islands.[16] [7]

In urine there is the salt water ocean, in saliva there is the milk ocean, in phlegm there is the ocean of curd, in lymph there is the ocean of clarified butter, in fat there is the ocean of honey, in blood there is the ocean of molasses, and in sperm there is the ocean of the liquor of immortality (*amṛta*). Such are the seven oceans. [8]

The nine parts [of Jambudvīpa] are the nine openings of the body [two eyes, two nostrils, two ears, mouth, anus, genital orifice]. These are

15 Really, no more than nineteen regions are numbered, even though we account the triple world of Indra and the quadruple world of Brahmā as seven different worlds.

16 The list does not correspond to standard list, neither as far as islands are concerned (usually Jambudvīpa, Plakṣadvīpa, Śālmalidvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śākadvīpa, Puṣkaradvīpa) nor as far as the bodily tissues are concerned (usually chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and finally sperm in the male and menstrual blood in the female). As the next verse proves, some of the bodily tissues absent from the list of *dvīpas* are included in the list of the oceans.

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the nine parts: Bhārata, Kāśmīra, Karairpara, Śrī, Śaṅkha, Ekapāda, Gāndhāra, Kaivartaka and Mahāmeru. [9]

Mount Meru is situated in the spinal column, Kailāsa in the fontanelle, Himālaya in the rear part, Malaya in the left shoulder, Mandara in the right shoulder, Vindhya in the right ear, Maināka in the left ear, Śrīparvata in the forehead. These are the family mountains (*kulaparvata*). Other mountains of lesser import are situated in fingers and toes. [10]

The nine rivers (*nadī*), Pīnasā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Candrabhāgā, Sarasvatī, Pipāsā, Śatarudrā, Śrīrātri and Narmadā, are situated in the nine [main] channels (*nāḍī*). [11]

Other rivers of lineage (*kulyā*) good or inferior are situated in the seventy two thousand channels. [12]

The twentyseven lunar mansions, the twelve zodiac signs, the nine planets, the fifteen lunar days, all that is delimited by the heavenly vault, the whole of them is situated in the seventy two thousand [lines of the] hand and in the bowels. The different constellations abide in the waves of existence.[17] The thirty threethousand gods abide in the pores of the superior half of the body. Gods, antigods (*dānava*), geniuses (*yakṣa*), those from which protection must be searched (*rākṣasa*), lemurs (*piśāca*), spectres (*bhūta*) and ghosts (*preta*) live in the joints. Families of serpents occupy the thorax. Groups of silent ascetics (*muni*) starting with Sanatkumāra[18] live in the pores of armpits. Other mountains are to be found in the hairs on the chest. Celestial musics

17 The six 'waves' (*ūrmi*) or dimples of existence are usually heat and cold, yearning and illusion, hunger and thirst, or alternatively hunger, thirst, decay, death, yearning, illusion.

18 Probably, the four mental sons of the demiurge Brahmā: Sana, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanatkumāra.

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(*gandharva*), anthropoids (*kinnara*, *kimpuruṣa*), nymphs (*apsaras*) and the ranks (*gaṇa*) of Śiva abide in the belly. Other mothers, delighting to wander in the celestial space (*khecarīlīla*), potencies (*śakti*) and terrific deities abide in the flux of breath. Clouds heavy with tempest abode in the tears poured, sacred fords (*tīrtha*) (seats of pilgrimage) are situated in the vital points (*marman*), the perfect ones (*siddha*) abide in the light of thought, sun and moon abide in the two eyes. The crowd of trees, leaves, shrubs and herbs reside in the hair growing on the legs. The crowd of worms, crawling and flying insects and so on abide in the excrements. [13]

Happines is heaven (*svarga*), sorrow is hell (*naraka*); the bound is action (*karman*), what does not admit alternatives is deliverance (*mukti*). Whatsoever condition in which one is, starting from sleep and so on, within one's own waking self there is quiet. In such a way the supreme Lord (*parameśvara*), assuming as his own body the entire universe, is present in each and every of his own bodies. The universal self (*paramātman*), by nature undivided, is to be found in every body [19] under the form of consciousness. Such is the understanding of the bolus made of flesh (*piṇḍasamvitti*).[20] [14]

In the preceeding passage there are evident references to Puranic mythology (the tortoise, *kūrma*, recalling the homonym *avatāra* of Viṣṇu

19 The term used for 'body' literaly means 'pot' (*ghaṭa*), according to a symbology diffused in the *haṭhayoga* milieu, in order to compare the body of the ordinary man to a pot made with raw clay, subject to decay, and the body of the ascetic expert in the discipline to a pot made with cooked clay, immortal.

20 *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* 3,1-14.Reference edition: K. Mallik, *Siddhasiddhānta-paddhati and Other Works of the Nātha Yogis*, Oriental Book House, Poona 1954. For a French translation see D.G. White, *Le monde dans le corps cit.*, pp.193-195.

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in the myth of the churning of the ocean), or priestly pseudo-etymologies (*indriya* – Indra). This proves that Tantric literary production does not intend to be an abrupt alternative in reference to the Vedic and priestly system of values, rather it represents a sort of completion of it, an updating of its parameters according to the new and different historical, social, cosmic and ethical conditions.

4 – Conclusions

4.1 – The orthopraxis of substitute pilgrimage

It is well known that Hinduism prefers orthopraxis to orthodoxy: it characterizes the belonging to it not really in the adhesion to a system of beliefs, but more properly in the compliance with a system of norms of religious behaviour (not necessarily a ritual one, or *rectius*, a system being ritualized even in the minor aspects of everyday life). Recalling an element alluded to *infra* (1.1 – Definitions), it is possible to identify a sphere of religious behaviour, within which the strict net of correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm finds final fulfillment: the practice of pilgrimage, the 'journey to sacred fords' (*tīrthayātrā*). Within this symbolic context, in order to accomplish a pilgrimage it is no really necessary to move from the place where one resides, but for the ascetic at least, it is no really necessary to turn outside from himself. Everything is already there, in one's own body, literally and not only symbolically, and the very same practice of pilgrimage may become an interior journey, a quest to discover one's own self, through the practice of the mystical superimposition (*nyāsa*),[21]

21 See L. Renou, *Le brahmanisme*, in *L'Inde classique, Manuel des etudes indiennes*, ed. by L. Renou, J. Filliozat, P. Meile, A.-M. Esnoul, L. Silburn, Payot, Paris, 1947, tome I, 1168, p. 569.

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a Tantric meditative practice consisting in the installation of various meditative supports, or tutelar deities, within the body, for ritual goals. It is possible to use either the names of the deities, or specific formulas corresponding either with phonemes of the Sanskrit syllabary or with the so-called 'seminal syllables' (*bījamantra*), or even lists of temples and sanctuaries, in order to allocate the invoked potencies in the desired portions of the body. So in Tantric milieu the meditation on the body replaces the practice of pilgrimage, because the equivalence between macrocosm and microcosm makes the physical journey useless, all that is outside being transformed in what is inside. Single *tīrthas* are harmoniously inserted within sacred complexes known as 'fields' (*kṣetra*), each one of them including within itself specific environmental matching parts for all the different sacred fords, such as the presence of a river, of a hill, of a specific animal or vegetal species. A field is a replica on a lesser scale of the sacred geography of the entire subcontinent. The mechanism at work is definable as substitute pilgrimage, according to which each and every single *tīrtha* within a *kṣetra* is linked reciprocally with all other sacred fords by an itinerary or circuit (*parikrama*). Pilgrims devoutly cover the circuit, including a ritual circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) of the most sacred place of the circuit, the final goal of the travel. Each and every *kṣetra* has within itself a number of alternative itineraries, being limited in terms of both space and time, according to differences in both the physical strength and the spending resources of the pilgrims. The *Bhagavadgītā* calls *kṣetra* the human body, being the object of knowledge of the individual conscious principle, the so-called 'knower of the field':[22] the analogy between

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22 *Bhagavadgītā*, 13,1 : Oh, son of Kuntī, this body is called 'field', he who knows it, is named by the sages 'knower of the field'.

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macrocosm and microcosm, between the external field of pilgrimage and the interior field of consciousness, is entirely self-aware, done on purpose. The substitute pilgrimage from the physical point of view (that is the substitution of a far pilgrimage place with a nearer place with the same name), usual in Christian world (see e.g. the institution of Calvary reproductions and Sacred Mountains in the age of Counter-Reformation), is due to the necessity to guarantee the visit to Christian sacred places being fallen under Islamic domination. This is a contingent historical and political reason, the impossibility to visit safely the Holy Land under Islamic rule. In India the substitute pilgrimage from a physical point of view takes place perhaps for a more ideal reason. In ancient India, no dynasty could have sufficient strenght in order to establish a Pan-Indian empire being able to carry out a cast-iron political and militar control over the whole of the subcontinent. A satisfactory alternative solution consisted in the symbolic equation of the estates of a minor royal lineage to the main exotic sacred places being under the control of much more powerful royal lineages. In such a way we may assist to the proliferation of sacred places being nearly namesake, e.g. from Kāśī arise one or more Northern Kāśī (Uttarakāśī) and at least one Southern Kāśī (Dakṣiṇakāśī). The main epic *tīrthas* are replicated in the territory in more limited circuits. He who cannot afford an expensive and potentially dangerous Pan-Indian circuit, will gather the same merit covering a substitute itinerary, a travel replicating on a lesser scale a greater pilgrimage. A classical example of this typology is the *pañcakrośī*,[23] the substitute pilgrimage

23 Kāśī, the city of light, ancient name of the historical nucleus of today Vārāṇasī, is surrounded by a ring sacred way, the *pañcakrośī* or way of the five leagues, with reference to the radius of the circle that is included in it. Its ideal center is the

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of the five leagues. Finally, it is even possible to conceive a second degree substitute pilgrimage. This second kind of substitute pilgrimage includes two different subtypologies. The first subtypology is a physical one: he who cannot accomplish the Pan-Indian circuit will complete the *pañcakrośī* circuit. He who cannot afford neither the *pañcakrośī* circuit will visit the namesake temple (XIX century CE), whose icons depict and represent the 108 stations of the *pañcakrośī* circuit. The second subtypology is an ideal one: a disciple accomplishing the ritual circumambulation of his master and guide, in fact completes an interior pilgrimage equivalent with the visit to all the sacred places of India. Lastly, it is possible to effect a substitute pilgrimage simply by evoking the name of the site being object of the visit.

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temple of Śiva Madhyameśvara ('Lord of the middle point'), destroyed by Muslims, proved only by some *liṅgas* stuck into the ground, on the northern shore of the Mandakinī (today the site of the Maidagin garden). According to other sources, the center is the adjacent temple of Kṛttivāseśvara. The extant center of the city, a little bit move towards South-East, the temple of Śiva Viśvanātha ('Lord of the universe'), dates back to the expansion of Kāśī that gave origin to present day Vārāṇasī. Dehalī Vināyak is the name of one hypostasis of Gaṇeśa, this god being the guardian of the city. The distance between the two temples (Śiva Viśvanātha and Dehalī Vināyaka) corresponds approximately to finve leagues (16 kilometers). The pilgrim covering the ring way ideally accomplishes a pilgrimage along 108 Pan-Indian sacred sites, punctually indicated by specific votive niches. The circumambulation includes four main break places,where pilgrims find hostels, and it can be accomplished in fine or six days. I summarize here what has been exposed more extensively in A. Pelissero, *Induismo*, in *Pellegrinaggi*, ed. by A. Pelissero, N. Celli, F. Vecoli, G. Mandel Khan, Electa, Milano 2011, pp. 9-71.

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SVĀTMAYOGAPRADĪPA – AN UNPUBLISHED TEXT ON ADVAITA

T.V.Vasudeva

Philosophical literature comprises of individual texts in the form of the aphorisms followed by commentarial works, short treatises and dialectical works. Among these, short treatises are independent works introducing the concepts of the respective schools of philosophy to readers interested in the philosophical thought.

Svātmayogapradīpa (*Sy.Pra*) by Amarānanda[1] or Yogīśvara is one of the works on Advaita that is still available in ms. form. Amarānanda, a descendant of Naidhruva Kāśyapa Gotra was born in Vārṣagaṇya family that flourished in 13th C.A.D. Besides the work *Sy.Pra,* Amarānanda had also authored two commentarial works – one on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* called *Viṣṇuvallabha* and the other on *Bṛhatsamhitā* called *Utpala Parimala.* These two works provide further details of the author especially about parents and his date. While all the mss. of *Utpala Parimala* declare his father's name as Kumāra or Kumāreśvara or Koṭyaṇa, only in two mss. of *Utpala Parimala* his mother's name is found as Gaurī. His grandfather (paternal) was Rāma.

Regarding the details pertaining to Amarānanda's teachers, *Sy. Pra.* provides reverential notes. One Amarānanda Yogīndra was the great grand preceptor whose disciple was Anupamasukha. Anupamasukha was the preceptor of Nirupamasukha or Nirupama Bodha whose disciple was the author Amarānanda.

1 For more details about Amarānanda, see my article – "Amarānanda – An unknown Advaitin", *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, Vol. LXVIII-LXX, pp.225-30.

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The text *Sy.Pra.* is available in ms. form in Madras, Trivandrum, Bikaner, Varanasi and Lahore. The Madras ms. – a transcript in Devanāgarī is found at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML). The Trivandrum ms. deposited at Curators Office Library is in Malayalam script and the others are in Devanāgarī. The present edition of *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (Vol. I) does not mention Vārāṇasi under the entry Amarānanda.

The ms. (transcript) found in GOML is in the codex along with other works namely *Svātmajñānam*, *Ātmajñānopadeśavidhi* followed by a commentary called *Sampradāyatilaka* by Antarārāma Bhagavat on *Ātmajñānopadeśavidhi* ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya.

Sy.Pra, one among the works in this codex, deals with the nature of soul and its realization. It has an auto-commentary called *Prabodhinī.* The text with more than 120 verses classified under six sections called *Vimśikās* (having 20 verses), is divided under two parts. The first part describes the nature of the soul under three sections *sat, cit* and *ānanda* (as *sat, cit* and *ānanda-vimśikās*) and the second part deals with the means *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* in their sections called Vākyārtha, Devatā and Yoga-vimśikās. As Amarānanda in his commentary on I. 4 says :

... वक्ष्यमाण सच्चिदानन्द वाक्यार्थ देवतायोगविंशिकाख्य षड्प्रकरणार्थः सर्वोप्युपक्षिप्तो ज्ञेयः । सत्सुखबोधपदैर्हि ग्रन्थस्य पूर्वार्धे वाच्यं सच्चिदानन्दकरूपात्मकमुपेयं ब्रह्म उक्तम् तत् प्राप्त्युपायभूत श्रवण मनन निदिध्यासनात्मकं वस्तूपरि भागार्थ ... ... ।

and also in another context :

वाक्यार्थज्ञानहेतुः श्रवणम् वाक्यार्थविंशिकायां, श्रुतार्थमननं देवताविंशिकायाम् , निदिध्यासनं योगविंशिकायां वक्ष्यते इति ग्रन्थस्य भागद्वयसङ्गतिश्चात्र सूचिता ।

Similarly while justifying the title *Svātmayogapradīpa* the author-commentator says (in Sad-vimśikā, 4) :

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सदसदितररूपात् स्वात्ममोहादनादेर्यदभिदमपि जीवेशादिभेदैर्विभाति ।
श्रुतिगुरुकृतबोधान्मोहनाशे तदेकं स्फुरति मम निजं ब्रह्मैव स स्वात्मयोगः ॥

Here the term '*svātmayoga*' is explained as:

स्वः प्रत्यगात्मा, आत्मा परमात्मा । अनयोरविद्याकल्पितस्य भेदस्य विद्यया अपगमे सिद्धस्यैवाभेदस्य स्फुरणं योग इव योगः तस्य प्रकाशकोऽयं ग्रन्थः प्रदीप इवेति स्वात्मयोग प्रदीप इति ग्रन्थस्य नामनिरुक्त्या . . . ।

The first *vimśikā* begins after the formal salutation offered to Amarānanda Yogīndra the great grand preceptor followed by salutations to Anupamasukharūpa – grand preceptor and Nirupamasukha – perceptor. Here in this first section the nature of *Ātman* as different from body, senses, mind etc. is explained (I.8):

वपुरसुकरणादेरस्ति जीवोऽतिरिक्तः सदनुभवसुखात्मा कार्यमोहोपधानः ।
हृदि स च जगतां यत्कृत्यजातं प्रणेता गुणमणिगणवार्धिः कारणोपाधिरीशः ॥

Then the omnipervasive nature of *Ātman* is also described. While explaining the *jīveśvarabhāva* or *īśvarabhāva* through *bimba-pratibimba,* Amarānanda cites the view of an author called Tattvānubhava[2] whose verse runs:

जाड्यं यस्मिन् मुकुर इव तद्भाति संभिन्नरूपं
ख्यातो जीवस्सपतिरितरस्तच्च जाड्यं द्विधाभूत् ।
... ...
मायाविद्या व्यवहृतिपदं ह्येतयोरादिभावात् ॥

The removal of ignorance through the knowledge imparted by the teacher and scriptures giving rise to the dawn of knowledge is

2 No reference regarding *Tattvānubhava* is found in *New Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the *Advaita Granthakośas* published by Upanishad Brahmendra Math, Kanchipuram. Prof. R.Thangaswami, mentions in his *Advaita Vedanta Literature : A Bibliographical Survey* (1980, p.337), *Tattvānubhava*, as the name of a text authored by Govindendra Yati (A.D. 1800-1900).

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explained by three examples such as: (i) *viṣṇutā* – the divinity being Viṣṇu reminded to Rāma, (ii) the removal of the wrong notion of being the son of charioteer in the case of Karṇa and (iii) the popular "*daśamastvamasi*", through this verse (I. 10) :

इतिकृतनरमोहे राघवे विष्णुतेव स्वयमविदुषि राधेयाह्वये पार्थतेव।
नवविधि दशमात्माज्ञे च तत्संख्यकेव स्फुरति मयि च सिद्धा ब्रह्मदाचार्यवाक्यैः ।।

After describing the nature of *sat* aspect of the *Ātman* the author concludes the chapter by emphasizing the non-dual nature of *Ātman-Brahman* thus (I. 25):-

गलितसकलवेलं व्याप्तसर्वान्तरालं विधुतजडिमपङ्कं निष्कलं निष्कलङ्कम् ।
सममसमानं स्वानुभूत्येकमानं सततरहितमोहं ब्रह्म सत्सौख्यदेहम् ।।

In the second *vimśikā* namely Cid-vimśikā, the *cid* (consciousness) aspect is dealt with elaborately. In accordance with the popular statement of the Upaniṣad (*Kaṭha Up.* V. 15):

न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ।
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ।।

the first verse of the Cid-vimśikā runs:

मनो वचो लोचन भास्कराद्याः स्वगोचरं गोचरयन्ति विश्वम् ।
यद्भासिता नैव तु यत्स्वरूपं सानन्त सच्चित् सुखदेवतास्मि ।।

The *Ātman* being the substratum of all objects is free from the apparent changes of the objects and remains the same in all the three states of waking, dream and sleep as well as creation, existence and dissolution of the world (II.2):

समस्तवस्त्वेकनिदानभूता तदीयभेदानुगतावभासा ।
तदत्यये या विमलातिसौख्या तिसृष्ववस्थास्वचलास्मि सा चित् ।।

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Consciousness (*cit*) being the substratum of all objects with their apparent modifications does not undergo any change in the three states – waking (*jāgrat*), dream (*svapna*) and deep sleep (*suṣupti*).

In the commentary on this verse Amarānanda explains this as – मूलाविद्याविलसितस्य जाग्रत्प्रपञ्चस्य " न तत्र रथा रथयोगानः पन्थानो भवन्ति "... इत्यादि श्रुत्या सूक्ष्मस्य स्वप्नप्रपञ्चस्य चैकनिदानभूता एका सती मायावशात् प्रकृतिनिमित्तादि सर्वकारणत्वेन दृष्टिसृष्टिन्यायेन सृष्ट्यादिहेतुत्वेन श्रुता तथा सृष्टस्य महाप्रपञ्चस्य वा अवान्तरदेशेष्वनुप्रवेशात् अनुगतेव तत्प्रकाशनेन स्वयंप्रकाशमान अन्तस्य उभयप्रपञ्चस्य अत्यये सुप्तौ लये च ... जगतो जन्म स्थित्यन्तावस्थासु तदाश्रयत्वेन स्फुरन्त्यपि अचला अप्रच्युतरूपा प्रत्यक्चित् सैवाहमस्मि ।

The *sākṣitva* of the Self in all the three states is described through the following verse (II.4):

अज्ञान तत्कार्य तदीयभेदानध्यक्षयन्ती निजसत्तया या ।
स्मर्तुं च विस्मर्तुमहो न शक्या सुप्त्यादिषु स्वप्रभयास्मि सा चित् ।।[3]

Vivartavāda is highlighted in the commentary on the verse (II. 9) as:

लोकः यच्चास्य कारणं ब्रह्म तच्च ज्ञानतया एकरूपमेव स्यात् जगद्रूपेण विवर्तते विजृंभते । विवर्तो हि नाम स्वरूपमत्यजत एव अधिष्ठानस्य स्वविरोध्याकारेणावभासः यथा रज्जौ सर्पत्वावभास इति ।

Amarānanda uses beautiful similies in many instances to explain the concepts of Advaita. In the present section on *cit* (consciousness) he uses ocean, desert land, moon and plantain stem as – या स्वात्मलीला लहरीजतत्त्व [4], रुमासु पुष्पादि यथास्मि सा चित् [5],

3 This verse has been cited by Svayamprakāśa Yati in his commentary on the Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita Makaranda* (Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1926), on the verse: स्वरूपमेव मे ज्ञानं ... (v. 23).

4 II.13: या स्वात्मलीला लहरीजतत्त्व तरङ्गसङ्घट्टजबुद्बुदाभैः ।
ब्रह्माण्डषण्डैरधिकांबुधिश्रीः सा संविदास्मि श्रुतिसोमसूतिः ।।

5 II.15: लोकाब्जमूले क्षणकाङ्क्षया वा देहात्मनुत्याप्युत दैवगत्या ।
विगाह्य यत्रैति यथैकरस्या रुमासु पुष्पादि यथास्मि सा चित् ।।

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राकाशशाङ्कस्य [6] यथा कलङ्क and व्योमेव रम्भात्वचि [7]. Having taken a plunge in this wonderful ocean of consciousness (*cidabdhi*) gods and enlightened ones obtain through *karma, bhakti, jñāna* and *yoga* the gems in the form of great virtues such as omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) etc. That *Brahman* is not affected by *māyā* is beautifully conveyed through the simile of the *kalaṅka* in the full moon. In the verse यस्याः स्वमाया ... (verse no.16). Amarānanda says - just as the black spot in the full moon appears to be its characteristics, *māyā* though not associated with *Brahman* appears to be in *Brahman*. Here in the commentary he substantiates the idea by citing *Śrutivākya* "... यदेतच्चन्द्रमसि कृष्णमिव ..." ।

Then he explains the nature of consciousness which functions as the ज्ञातृ–ज्ञान–ज्ञेय (seer, knowledge of object and the object), based on the three *guṇas*.

Summarising the contents, Amarānanda concludes the Cid-vimśikā with the description of consciousness which is infinite and without any *āvaraṇa* (*anāvṛta*-unconcealed) and is comforting like the splendour of the moon (II.20) :

अनावृतानन्यमहाविभूतीरतीतदिक्कालकलाकलापा ।
असीमभूमामृतचन्द्रिकाया सानन्त सच्चित् सुखदेवतास्मि ॥

Here in this verse he also indicates the subject matter of the succeeding chapter Ānanda-vimśikā and the fifth chapter Devatā-vimśikā by the terms *sukha* and *devatāsmi* respectively.

In the third section (Ānanda-vimśikā) dealing with the 'bliss' aspect in the definition of *Brahman*, Amarānanda describes ānanda aspect using similes. The ocean of bliss illuminated by the grace of the Guru in

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6 II. 16: यस्यास्स्वमाया स्थगनाय नालं राकाशशाङ्कस्य यथा कलङ्कः।
प्रकाशयेत्प्रत्युत स्वमायां स्वतेजसा नावृतिरस्मि सा चित् ॥

7 II. 19: व्योमेव रंभात्वचि चित्रभङ्ग्या नैकव्यवस्था व्यवहारहेतुः ।
मानीकृतादर्शनवादिभिर्या सा सर्वसद्भावपदं चिदस्मि ॥

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the form of full moon is infinite and taking a plunge into it, the Self becomes one with it (III.1) :

पूर्वोद्यदत्रिगुणसद्गुरुदृष्टिजन्म कारुण्यपूर्णशशिना परितः स्फुरन्तम्।
उद्वेलमद्वयमनन्तमनन्तरीपम् आनन्दसिन्धुमवगाह्य तदात्मकोऽस्मि ।।

In accordance with the *Śrutivākya* – ब्रह्मैव सन् ब्रह्माप्येति । – (*Bṛh.Up* 4.4.6) Amarānanda says that *Brahman* – the ocean of infinite Bliss, is not different from individual soul and people relish in the material world with only a tinge of it (III. 2cd) :

. . . .
यत्सौख्यबिन्दुमुपजीवति जीवलोकः
सोऽनन्त-सत्य-सुख-बोध-सुधाब्धिरस्मि ।।

In another beautiful verse the non-dual nature of *Brahman* is brought out through the acts seen in the world. The food when carried causes fatigue in the head and hands to the traveller, yields joy when eaten. Similarly when the object (*dṛśya*) is seen differently causes *bhrānti* (misconception) and yields joy when experienced as not different from Self (III.3):

शान्त्यै शिरः करधृतं पथिकैर्यदन्नं तुष्ट्यै तदेव जठरे निहितं यथैवम् ।
दृश्यं मदाश्रयमिदञ्च पृथक्तया चेत् भ्रान्त्यै मुदे तु मदनन्यतयानुभूतम्।।

This is substantiated by the Upanishadic statement (*Īśa. Up.*7):

यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मैवाभूद्विजानतः ।
तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ।।

If this is realized, then there is none to be despised due to the absence of the feeling of "I". In one of the verses Amarānanda says that it is the inherent bliss aspect (*svasukha*) that is experienced even though one practise of *yama, niyama* etc. of the Yoga. The great sages adhering to the principles of Yoga unaware of external activities engross in the bliss and become accomplished (III.7):

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प्राणेन्द्रियासनजितो नियता यताश्च सद्धारणॅ-स्मरण-लब्ध-समाधिसिद्धाः।
आलिङ्ग्य मन्निजसुखं मुनयस्समन्तात् अन्तर्बहिः किमपि नैव विदुः कृतार्थाः ।।

Amarānanda in many places uses the similies that are seen in the material world. The pleasure due to the association of dear ones or the comfort derived after the removal of any ill health caused by the climatic conditions is the experience or the manifestation of the inherent bliss. Ignorant people name this as material pleasure; the knowers of Ātman call this inherent bliss (comm.on III.8) :

आत्मनि विक्षेपकारकाणां शीतोष्णादि मिथो विरोधिद्वन्द्वानां परस्परेण नाशात् तिरोधायकाभावात् निजमेव सुखं सुषुप्ताविव आविर्भवति । कदाचित् पुत्रदारादीष्टवस्तुसंयोगात् जाते प्रीतिलक्षणे सात्त्विक-धीवृत्तिविशेषः स्वच्छे दर्पणे स्वमुखमिव स्वसुखमेव अभिव्यज्यते। एतदुभयं सुखं अज्ञा वैषयिकं मन्यन्ते, आत्मज्ञाः स्वात्मसुखमेव विदुः ।

At the dawn of the knowledge arising out of the *mahāvākya* such as *Tattvamasi,* the inherent bliss alone remains after the destruction of *jīva-paramātma-bheda-pratyaya*. After describing destruction of *bheda-pratyaya* the author points out the appearance of the world projected by *māyā. Brahman* is not affected by *māyā*. In spite of the appearance of the world caused by *māyā*, the *Brahman* remains unaffected. This is brought out by the beautiful simile[8] that just as the sweet taste is uniform in the sugarcane juice and a piece of jaggery there is no difference in *Brahman* due to the variations in form, such as the one of *Hiraṇyagarbha* or a wooden idol.

Amarānanda explains that the *sthāyibhāva-rati* which transforms into various sentiments depending on respective occasions and yields delight to the connoiseurs is verily the Self (III.15):

या स्थायिभावरतिरेव निमित्तभेदाच्छृङ्गारमुख्यनवनाट्यरसा भवन्ती।
सामाजिकान् सहृदयान् नटनायकादीनानन्दयेत् सहजपूर्णरसोऽस्मि सोऽहम् ।।[9]

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8 III. 11 : भेदोऽस्ति नैक्षवरसे गुडखण्डरूपे जंब्वाकृतौ लिकुच निम्ब फलाकृतौ वा ।
ब्रह्मात्मके सुखरसे मयि नास्ति भेदस्तद्वद्विरिञ्चिवपुषि द्रुम-विग्रहे वा ।।

9 This verse has been cited by Kumārasvāmin in his commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* on *Pratāparudrīya* at the end of Rasaprakaraṇa.

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Hence Amarānanda in his commentary on the above verse explains:-

रतिरेव हि गुरुनृपदेवतादौ भक्तिः, कान्तादौ शृङ्गारः, पुत्रादौ वात्सल्यं, मित्रादौ स्नेहः, एवं हसितव्य, शोच्य–दृश्य–प्रतिभव –भीषणीय–जुगुप्सनीय–आश्चर्य सैषा रतिः अखण्डितानन्दः सहजोऽहमेव इत्यर्थः ।

After establishing the bliss nature of Brahman he further says - किं बहुना सावधानस्य सर्वं जगत्सुखमेव and justifies this through the verse (no.16) ''जिज्ञासितेप्सित ...'' etc. The approach to the worldly activities is in three ways as *jijñāsita* (desire to know) *īpsita* (desired ones) *jihāsita* (to be eschewed) and in all these the consciousness functions. The cravings for joy is opted by all.

There are other verses (14,17,18) which describe the 'bliss' aspect of *Brahman* with appropriate similes to explain the idea.

The present chapter though focussing on the bliss aspect of *Brahman*, also hints at the contents of the rest of the chapters. Through the reference to *mahāvākya* it hints at Vākyārtha-vimśikā and through the terms *devatā* and *yoga* to the last two chapters of the texts.

The fourth chapter is termed Vākyārtha-vimśikā. *Brahman*, though being one, assumes through *māyā*, the varied roles like *māna-meya*, *guru-śiṣya* and *devatā-jīva*. Then the four-fold essential qualifications – *sādhanacatuśṭaya* is discussed, followed by *śravaṇa* etc. In the course of explanation of the concepts of *pramāṇa* stress is laid by Amarānanda on *Śabdapramāṇa*: (on v.7) चिद्रूपस्य तेजसो ब्रह्मणः सूर्यस्येव प्रभायन्ते सर्वमानानि । तेषु मनः प्रभास्थानीयो वेदादिः शब्दराशिः अतीत–अनागत–व्यवहित–विप्रकृष्ट पुण्यपाप–स्वर्ग–नरक–ब्रह्मात्मैकाद्यशेषार्थ द्योतकत्वात् । ... अतीन्द्रिये अर्थापयादि विषये चक्षुरादौ च प्रतीयमाने तत्फलव्यवहारे च शब्दोल्लेखपूर्वकत्वात् सुतरां शब्दं विना असंभवः । अतो मानान्तरहेतुभ्यः शब्दो विशिष्टः ।

He explains the *mahāvākya – Tattvamasi* in the verse IV.11 as:

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मुख्यतस्त्वमिह जीव उच्यते तत्पदेन जगदादिरीश्वरः ।
एतयोरसिपदेन चैकतां ब्रह्मचित्सुखमखण्डमस्म्यदः ।।

Primarily the individual soul is devoted by '*tvam*'; Īśvara, the Supreme, by the term '*tat*'; and the term '*asi*' denotes the non-dual nature – the identity.

Then he discusses *jahallakṣaṇā, ajahallakṣaṇā*

In the next section namely *Devatā-Vimśikā,* the author mentions (V.I) at the outset the reason for the worship of Devatā as *dhīśuddhi*:

तत्तत्फलार्थिनां तत्तद्रूपेणोपास्यमीश्वरम् ।
सच्चिदानन्दमात्मानं **धीशुद्धौ देवतां** भजे।।

This *vimśikā* describes both *Saguṇa Brahman* as a Devatā and the *Nirguṇa Brahman* as the Supreme. Following the procedure of *mānasikapūjā* the author says (V.16):

स्वधामविश्वाश्रय धीरिहासनं जगत्सुपूर्णस्थिरधामधीर्हवः ।
अर्घ्यो ह्यनर्घ्ये सकलार्हणार्हधीः पाद्यं तु विश्वाप्त्यमृतत्रिपात्वधीः ।।

The offering of cordialities such as seat (*āsana*), mentally (*mānasika*) emphasises the non-dual nature of the Supreme which is omni pervasive etc. As the Self / Supreme is ever present in the heart, the offering of *arghya* (water to wash hands) and other cordialities become redundant. As Amarānanda in his commentary on the above verse says –

गृहाभ्यागतस्य हि पूज्यस्य विश्रान्तिसन्तर्पणकरैर्द्रव्यैः श्रमाद्यपनोदनमर्घ्यदानम् । ब्रह्मणस्तु नित्यतृप्तत्वादिना तत्फलस्य सिद्धत्वादिति भावः ।

This is followed by other cordialities such as betel leaves, circumambulation, prostration and dispersal (V.19):

ताम्बूलमव्यक्त गुणत्रयेश धीः आवृत्तिरात्मैक्यधियः **प्रदक्षिणम्।**
विश्वात्मक विश्वाधिक **धीर्नमस्क्रिया विसर्जनं** ब्रह्मणि निजात्मशेषधीः ।।

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In the next and last chapter Yoga-Vimśikā the author emphasises that adherence to Yogic injunction will also pave way for realisation of the Self. As dealt with in previous chapter Amarānanda says (VI.4):

सगुणतदितरात्मना द्विधाऽसौ यमनियमादिभिरष्टभिर्युतोऽङ्गैः।
स भवति बहिरन्तरङ्गभावात् परमपुमर्थसमर्थने समर्थः ।।

Defining *yama* etc. the author says (VI.5-6)[10] detachment with body and senses is *yama*; immersion in thought pertaining to self is *niyama* ; indifference towards external material objects is *āsana* ; restraining the senses from going towards objects is *prāṇāyāma*; training the mind / intellect to develop disinterestedness towards objects is *pratyāhāra* ; engrossed in one's own Self is *dhāraṇā* ; meditation on *Brahman* as Self is *dhyāṇa* ; and the knowledge of non-dual nature is *samādhi.* He discusses the *gauṇa yoga* which is *kāmya* and *niṣkāmya yoga* which leads to liberation. He beautifully describes the above idea as (VI.8):

क्वापि दैवतमहस्सुधांबुधिः प्लावत्यखिलमात्मना सह ।
क्वापि चात्मा चिदसीमसागरो मज्जयेज्जगदिदं सदैवतम् ।।

He mentions *bhāvayoga* – meditation on *Brahman* with attributes (*saguṇabrahman*), as (VI.14):

विराडाद्यं रूपं भुवनपरिक्लृप्तावयवयुक् स्मरेदेवं यद्वा परिमित भुजास्त्राभरणकम् ।
ततो मुक्त्वैकैकं तदवयवमंगिन्यनुपमे स योगो भावाख्यो निजमहसि यश्चित्तविलयः ।।

and *abhāvayoga* is defined by him as (VI.15):

अद्रेश्याद्युपनिषदापि नेति वाक्यैः प्रोक्तात्मन्यखिलजगद्विलक्षणत्वात् ।
वाग्दूरेऽनिलये निजे विकल्पशून्ये मन्यन्ते मतिविलयं ह्यभावयोगम् ।।

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10 देहाक्षादौ विरक्तिर्यम इह नियमस्स्वात्मतत्त्वेऽनुरक्तिः
बाह्यौदासीन्यमेवासनमसुनियतिस्त्वक्षरोधो मृषार्थात् ।
प्रत्याहार स्वबुद्धेर्विषयविमुखता धारणा स्वात्मनिष्ठा
ध्यानं ब्रह्माहमात्मेति दृगनाहमलोहात्म संवित्समाधिः ।।

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This *abhāvayoga* is contemplating on Brahman without attributes (*nirguṇa brahman*) as described in *Muṇḍaka Up.* (I.1.6)

And finally the *mahāyoga* is explained as (VI.16):

प्रपञ्चस्य भानेऽप्यभाने समं यन्नचाविद्यया विद्यया लिङ्गिताङ्गम् ।
तदात्मस्वरूपं सदानन्दसान्द्रं परं ब्रह्मभानं **महायोगमाहुः** ॥

Immersed in the Self which is eternal bliss, disregarding the external or material world and its characteristics the realisation of *Brahman* is *mahāyoga*.

Thus through the knowledge born out of scriptures severing the knots of illusion the Yogins plunge in the great ocean of Bliss, the *Brahman,* even in this life.

In the end, Amarānanda discusses the benefits of *arcirādi mārga* and *dhūma mārga*. He concludes with a note of advice to aspirants (VI.23):

यावज्जीवं प्रणवमथवावर्तयेत् रुद्रियं वा याजुर्वेदं वसतिमपि वा वाराणस्यां विदध्यात् ।
त्यक्त्वा लज्जां कलिमलकुलच्छेदकानीरयेद्वा विष्णोर्नामान्यनिशममृतप्राप्तिरेवं चतुर्धा ॥

These are the four means of attaining immortality namely, recitation or muttering the *praṇava* throughout the life; repeated chanting of *Śatarudriya* portion of *Yajurveda*; residing in Vārāṇasi and chanting the names of Lord Viṣṇu incessantly.

Finally mentioning the number of verses in his work he hails the same and mentions that the work was composed in Vārāṇasi [11] for pleasing Lord Viśveśa who was his preceptor Nirupama bodha.

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11 श्रीमत्काश्यां स्वनिरुपमबोधात्मविश्वेशदृष्ट्यै
ग्रन्थः सर्वानुभवमुनिमुख्यात्मसमतोऽयम्।
द्वैतध्वान्तं सपदि विनुदन्दर्शयन्नात्मतत्त्वं
योगीन्द्रोक्तो जगति जयतु स्वात्मयोगप्रदीपः ॥ (VI.25)

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ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BHAGYALATA PATASKAR

We are aware of the thing that is different or separate from us. We are not aware of our blood circulation and thousands of cells in our body. It is because we live with them. They are integral part of our life. Only the serious disturbance in them only makes us aware of them. Now we have become aware of ecology and environment because their deterioration and decay have started affecting our life. There is great threat not only to the mankind but to the planet as well. So we have turned to the Vedas to find out any solution for this disaster.

It is the hermeneutical process when a sensitive reader reads a classic, he reads, understands and interprets it on the background of his contemporary situation, most of the time contemporary problems. It is quite natural process that he interprets it in such a way that he could draw a message from the text. This message is directly related to his life. Most of the times the message drawn from the text provides a solution to the contemporary problem. This basic law of the hermeneutics reveals why totally different type of messages were drawn from the Vedas, at different time by the thinkers of these times. These messages are the solutions to the contemporary problem.

It will not be out of context to see this process historically in brief.

The Mīmāmsakas' interpretation of the Vedas that the import of the Vedas is *karma* or *yajña*, was a strong antidote to the powerful and wide propagation of Śramaṇadharma (3rd century B.C.), Śaṅkarācārya's

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interpretation of Vedas was in terms of *jñāna*, which proved a strong measure to ward off the Tāntrikas and Buddhists who were Śūnyavādins. (5th century A.D). The middle age (i.e. 11th century onwards) is marked by the rise of the saints in all parts of India, who propagated the message of the Vedas as *bhakti*, and that too in the regional language. This message of *bhakti* that God is everywhere and He is very merciful and takes care of everybody, gave solace to people who had lost confidence due to destructive attacks of Muslim invaders. The late 19th century was the start of the independence and it was mistaken as the result of the extreme faith, in fact blind faith in age old scriptures, religion and traditions. In this time Swami Dayananda's new interpretation of the Vedas, that the Vedic seers have scientific approach and the advanced stage of scientific development is seen in the Vedas, enhanced and spread enthusiasm, love and pride for our scriptures, that further strengthen the patriotism that was the need of the time. Just 50 years after that Pt. S.D Satawalekar's interpretation of the Vedas as preaching strong patriotism, contributed towards kindling the spark in the society.

Today's problems are global. An imbalance in ecology, serious decay in environment, conflicts at all levels, and no peace have compelled the thinkers to find out strong solution for them. Such solutions are always in the form of thought process or cultivating certain attitude towards the situation or in the form of giving vision which will completely change one's lifestyle; and change in mindset alone would help in facing the problem. It is very apt to quote age old wisdom in this context. The verse is as follows – न देवा दण्डमादाय रक्षन्ति पशुपालवत् । यं तु रक्षितुमिच्छन्ति सुबुद्ध्या योजयन्ति तम् ।। It goes without saying that proper and right thoughts only would bring one out of calamity. In all the cases, mentioned above, the message drawn from the Vedas only succeeded in giving decisive turn to the society.

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On this background we have to see what sort of thought or the vision provided by the Vedic literature which might have been prevalent then and which might have not only warded off any calamity but might have proved as a proactive measure that such calamity would not occur at all.

As per the textual record, the ancient people were not aware of the ecological and environmental problems just as we are not aware of the blood circulation in our body. This clearly means there was hardly any disturbances or decay in the environment. 'No disturbance-situation' and 'no problem-situation' further implies that the ecology and the environment must have been integral part of human life, and not external, separate or fragmented entity and hence was taken proper care.

My humble thesis in this regard is that the Vedic culture could achieve this because of Yajña. I sincerely maintain that Yajña, both as a practice and as a concept had created, nourished and maintained an awareness not only towards environment and ecology, but towards the entire universe in totality. This was certainly something more than what we talk about.

I have divided my presentation into two parts. First part would deal with Yajña as a performance because of which the awareness towards ecology became an innate property. In second part I have proposed Yajña as a world view or Yajña as a vision which develops an awareness towards one's environment.

1. Yajña as a performance –

By Yajña as a performance I mean most developed form of Yajña, i.e. Śrautayajña.

My observation is that the Śrauta yajña is hardly possible without close relationship with five elements *viz.* earth, fire, water, air and space.

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Here we will see some examples. While preparing the three fire pits clay from seven different places, i.e. *pārthiva-sambhāras* is collected and put in the pits. Just have a glance on this seven *pārthivasambhāras–Sikatā*, *ucara*, earth dug out by a rabbit, earth collected by white ants (*sūdam*), mud from ever wet land, mud from the bottom of water reservoir and gold.

Six *vānaspatya-sambhāras* are as follows – Aśvattha, Udumbara, Palāśa, Śamī, Vikaṅkata and *aśanihata vṛkṣa* (a tree burnt by lighting (electricity). Apart from that there are 29 trees that are identified as *yajñiya* trees. i.e. beneficial for Yajña; therefore holy and divine. The *yajamāna* is depending on entire nature for Yajña, such as sunrise, sunset, moon, constellations, water reservoirs etc. He lives with nature. He draws message from nature and it can be said that he lives for nature. The Śrauta Agnihotrī is the best example of the environment friendly life-style. So I dare to state that the Vedic people did not need deliberate or conscious attempt towards the awareness of environment. When the *agnihotrin* finds everything around him is *yajñiya*, it goes without saying that he would put special attempts for its preservation as it is. There seems an in built mechanism that the nature helps human being to perform his duties and a human being protects it for his cause. This inter-dependency did not allow any external element which will motivate him to exploit or over power it. I sincerely maintain that the environmental and ecological disaster happened due to human's desire and attempt of exploiting as well as overpowering the nature.

One more feature of *Śrautayajña* is that the *mantras* in this ritual are nothing but the dialogue held with the things around the *adhvaryu*. e.g. इषे त्वा । (*VMS Yajurveda* 1.1) is the *mantra* for *śākhāharaṇa*, as if the priest is appealing the twig 'I need you for my food'. The famous example is स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीः (*VMS Yajurveda* 4.1) –'oh sword please do not injure the tree.' This *mantra* is recited while lifting up an axe to cut the tree.

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The axe (*svadhiti*) is addressed directly. See the *mantra* (*VMS Yajurveda* 4.1) ओषधे त्रायस्वैनम् । This *mantra* is recited while putting a *darbha* on the tree before it is cut. Here also the *oṣadhi* is directly addressed to the grass (*darbha*). With the *mantra* – उरु प्रथस्व उरु ते यज्ञपतिः प्रथताम् (*Taittirīya Samhitā,* 1.1.8.1), the *puroḍāśa* is directly requested to get spread. When the *adhvaryu* places the *juhū* on the *prastara* (i.e.spread grass) he recites the *mantra* – घृताच्यसि जुहूर्नाम्ना सेदं प्रियेण धाम्ना प्रियं सद् आसीद । (*VMS Yajurveda* 2.6). He directly talks with the *juhū.* Here is one more *mantra* – अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम् । (VMS *Yajurveda* 1.5). Likewise there are the *mantras* – वायो व्रतपते ... or सूर्य व्रतपते... etc. Here the objects such as Agni (fire), Vāyu (wind) and Sūrya (sun); are directly addressed of course then they remain no more mundane objects, rather they become deities. This is how the entire *Yajña* ritual is nothing but a beautiful dialogue between the human being and his surroundings. Holding the dialogue makes one not only be aware of the environment but also of the liveliness of the environment. When it is understood that the entire surrounding is as alive as he is and he has to carry on the Yajña by having dialogue with it, there is hardly any possibility of disturbing or spoiling the environment.

The Vedic seers have realized the quality of the environment which is a unique thing. The two properties are *śānti* (peace) and *chandas* (rhythm). The *ŚY mantra* (36.17) is as follows-

द्यौः शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं शान्तिः पृथिवी शान्तिरापः शान्तिरोषधयः शान्तिः। वनस्पतयः शान्तिर्विश्वेदेवाः शान्तिर्ब्रह्म शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिरेव शान्तिः सा मा शान्तिरेधि ।।

Another *mantra* from the same Samhitā (*SY.*14.9) is as follows –

छन्दोऽन्तरिक्षं छन्दो द्यौश्छन्दः समाश्छन्दो नक्षत्राणि छन्दो वाक् छन्दो मनश्छन्दः कृषिश्छन्दो हिरण्यं छन्दो गोश्छन्दोऽजश्छन्दोऽश्वश्छन्दः ।।

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To me it means that according to the seers the environment is basically *śānti* and *chandas*. The seer does not say that it is *Śānta*, e.g. *dyauḥ śāntā*, and *chāndasa* – i.e. peaceful and rhythmic. The *sāmānādhikaraṇya* in these two *mantras* is very significant. This means earth, sky, water, trees are peace and rhythm incarnation. These qualities are the inherent qualities of the Nature, and exactly opposite of agitation, chaos, disharmony etc. When they are described as peace and rhythm it means there is never any chance for any type of outburst or eruption. My point is, understanding the nature of the Nature is first step towards the preservation of the environment.

One more important point is that the seer always connects himself with the environment. After describing द्यौ: शान्ति: etc. he says सा मा शान्तिरेधि – let that *śānti* enter into me – The *mantra* in the *Yajamāna-dīkṣā* is very significant – पृथिवी दीक्षा । तयाग्निर्दीक्षया दीक्षित:। ययाग्निर्दीक्षया दीक्षित: तया त्वा दीक्षया दीक्षयामि ।। Further the *mantra* says – अन्तरिक्षं दीक्षा । तया वायुर्दीक्षया दीक्षित: ... । द्यौर्दीक्षा तयादित्यो दीक्षया दीक्षित:। दिशो दीक्षा ... । (तै.ब्रा.३.७.७.२-९). In this ritual, the *yajamāna* is inter-connecting himself with the environment. It is not that he is different from environment but he is an organic part of the environment. This further implies that any mistake committed by him or his misbehaviour would not only spoil the environment but gradually it would affect his own life also. It goes without saying that such *dīkṣita-yajamāna* dare not think of exploiting or overpowering the environment.

Normally when we talk about environment, we talk about the five elements, trees, herbs – *i.e.* botanical kingdom. Here is the example as to how Yajña directly contributed towards preservation of the animal kingdom.

The *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* mentions *ekādaśin* and *aṣṭādaśin-samjñaka paśu i.e.* animals and birds which are required in the Aśvamedha. The

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count goes upto 246 approximately. The *ŚY Samhitā* also mentions more than 40 *paśu* (*VMS Yajurveda* 30.5-22). I am quite aware that it is a point of dispute whether the animals and birds were really killed or not. I myself maintain that they might have been collected and after declaring their deity they used to be set free i.e. the ritual called *upākaraṇa*. My point is the Yajña requires these many animals and birds. Thus the entire animal kingdom becomes *yajñiya* which further implies that its preservation becomes the duty and responsibility for the sake of Yajña.

I would like to summarize the first part of my paper as follows –

It is the *Yajña prayoga* which was the life style then, that automatically created and nourished the awareness towards environment including five elements and botanical and animal kingdom.

2. Yajña as a world view –

In the second part I would like to propose that Yajña as a world view is the solution for today's problem.

Yajña infact is continuum. Each action is an outcome or result of our previous action and each action is going to result into subsequent action. This can be the archetype of any Yajña. Another element of this archetype can be described in terms of 'integrity'. The *Yajña prayoga* in fact assumes the inter-connection among several articles. Yajña also stands for gratitude. When I say Yajña as a world-view I mean it is a particular attitude of looking at the environment, the attitude that comprises of gratitude and integrity. This attitude certainly would help to dilute the problem. Now a days we talk about holistic world-view. The Yajña world-view is far better than this, since it comprises of integral approach towards reality as well as gratitude

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and extreme sense of awareness of what one is doing at each and every moment. Nobody lives in isolation in this world. Nothing happens in isolation in the world is the core concept of the Yajña world-view. This gives no scope for 'I' and the remaining world, which in fact is the beginning of exploitation and overpowering of the surrounding.

In brief as it was mentioned previously if we want to come out of the problem, we have to change our mind-set or thinking process. Adopting the Yajña world-view is the solution for this.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

VMS - *Vājasaneyī Mādhyandina Śukla Yajurveda Samhitā* ed. by Satawalekar, S. D., Swadhyaya Mandala, Paradi, 1950.

ŚY - *Śukla Yajurveda.*

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MAHĀBHĀRATA WITH ITS COMMENTARIES: BHĀRATABHĀVADĪPA AND BHĀRATATĀTPARYASAMGRAHA

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One of the many grandest contributions of ancient Bhāratadeśa is the *Mahābhārata* which is the greatest literary corpus of the world. A storehouse of immortal wisdom for all the ages, the *Mahābhārata* has been sustaining the culture of this great land for millennia and still continues to be so in many ways.

Many great scholars have attempted to unravel the mysteries and underlying grand truths that lay scattered in this great Epic.

Appayya Dīkṣita of the mid 16th century who flourished in south India was a polymath who has attempted in his interpretative commentary *Bhārata-tātparya-saṅgraha* [1], to bring out the inner meanings and significance of some of the most important events and discussions in the epic.

Nīlakaṇṭha of the 17th century who flourished in Varanasi has written a commentary by name *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* [2] on the entire text of the *Mahābhārata* giving his own interpretations.

In this brief paper I will try to compare these two commentaries on some of the important issues and bring out their viewpoints.

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1 *Rāmāyaṇa-tātparya-saṅgrahaḥ* and *Bhārata-tātparya-saṅgrahaḥ* by Appayya Dīkṣita with his own Vyākhyā, Vanivilas Press, Srirnagam, 1929.

2 The *Mahābhārata,* with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha (Anuśāsanaparva), Citraśālā Press, Pune, 1933.

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To take up the 'Śivasahasranāmastotra' as told by Kṛṣṇa: In the Anuśāsanaparva, ch. 14 (1cd, 2cd) we find that Yudhiṣṭhira requests Bhīṣma to tell him the great names of Śiva who is the Lord of Brahmā, the Pitāmaha and who is the Guru of both the gods and the demons (*surāsuragurave*) :

पितामहेशाय विभो नामान्याचक्ष्व शम्भवे ।।
सुरासुरगुरौ देवे शङ्करेऽव्यक्तयोनये ।।

The usage of *caturthīvibhakti* in this passage is in the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyartha*) as explained by the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha [3].

For this Bhīṣma answers that he is incapable of recounting the names and thereby the greatness of Śiva, as Śiva is the greatest of all gods, the creator and overlord of even Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc. Bhīṣma then very briefly explains how Śiva creates Brahmā and others by first activating the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa through His power. Such a great God as He is, the greatness of Śiva can be expounded only by Nārāyaṇa, the invincible (*paramadurjaya*) who by His yogic eyes and devotion to Śiva (*rudrabhaktyā*) is capable of seeing great things[4]. Bhīṣma also substantiates this by stating that in each Yuga (*yuge yuge*) Kṛṣṇa has worshipped and satisfied Śiva by his intense devotion[5] and thus has seen directly the supreme power (*aiśvarya*) of Śiva and completely

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3 .... ईशाय अन्तर्यामिणे सर्वत्र षष्ट्यर्थे चतुर्थी शंसुखं भवत्यस्मान् इत्यर्थः ।

4 Anuśāsana, 14.9-10ab:
एष विद्वान् गुणश्रेष्ठो विष्णुः परमदुर्जयः ।
दिव्यचक्षुर्महातेजा वीक्ष्यते योगचक्षुषा ।।
रुद्रभक्त्या तु कृष्णेन जगद्व्याप्तं महात्मना ।

5 The following *Ṛgveda* passage (III.5.3.3) can be adduced to in support of Bhīṣma's statement that Kṛṣṇa [as Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu] had worshipped Śiva before and attained greatness by Śiva's grace:
तव श्रिये मरुतो मर्जयन्त रुद्र यत् जनिम चारु चित्रम् ।
पदं यद् विष्णोरुपमं निधायि तेन पासि गुह्यं नाम गोनाम् ।।

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knows the highest manifestations and powers of Śiva (*vibhūtim ca māheśvarīm kārtsnyena*) (14.16):

एष शक्तो महाबाहुर्वक्तुं भगवतो गुणान् ।
विभूतिं चैव कात्स्न्र्येन सत्यां माहेश्वरीं नृप ॥

In explaining the passage (14.5 ab) ;

अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म असच्च सदसच्च यः ।

the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha digresses a little and introduces the concepts of rope and snake for explaining the words *sat* and *asat*. For him, *akṣaram* is the unchanging *Brahman* which is devoid of the three types of limitations (*pariccheda-traya-śūnya*); the same *Brahman* is *asat*, the cause that is unevolved (*avyākṛta*) and it is '*asat*' like a non-existent snake appearing on a rope[6]. Here we can clearly see the Advaita Vedānta leanings of Nīlakaṇṭha. It is clear that the context and the content of the *Mahābhārata* passage do not yield to such an interpretation which Nīlakaṇṭha reads into it.

Again, while explaining the passage of the Anuśāsana parva, 14. 26, where Kṛṣṇa starts his narration of the names of Kapardī, namely, Śiva, after addressing the assembled Brāhmaṇas, Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīṣma:

शुश्रूषध्वं ब्राह्मणेन्द्रास्त्वं च तात युधिष्ठिर।
त्वं चापगेय नामानि श्रृणुष्वेह कपर्दिने ॥

Nīlakaṇṭha states that Kapardī is only the *Saguṇa Brahman* since there are no names for the *Nirguṇa Brahman* [7]. Clearly the Advaita Vedānta predilections in Nīlakaṇṭha takes precedence here as there is no contextual

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6 ... अक्षरं अपरिणामि परमं ब्रह्म अत्यन्तं परिच्छेदत्रयशून्यम् । तदेव असत् अव्याकृतद्रव्यं कारणम् । सत् रज्जुसर्पवद्भासमानमपि असत् अनिर्वचनीयमित्यर्थः ॥

7 गीतासु – 'तमेव चाद्यं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये', 'तमेव शरणं गच्छ' इति प्रोक्ताय कपर्दिने सगुणायैव। निर्गुणस्य तु गौणानां नाम्नामभावादित्यर्थः॥

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need to interpret the name Kapardī of Śiva as pertaining only to *Saguṇa Brahman*. It implies that for Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator, these names of Śiva which Yudhiṣṭhira requests Bhīṣma to narrate to him and for which Kṛṣṇa takes so much effort by stating the occasion in which he received those hallowed names from sage Taṇḍī that were revealed in the Brahmaloka (Anu.14.19) and to recite which names Kṛṣṇa makes himself pure by touching the water (*upaspṛśya śucirbhūtvā*, Anu. 14. 25c) are only the names of *Saguṇa Brahman*. ' Probably Nīlakaṇṭha is swayed by the notion expressed in the Advaita Vedānta text, *Pañcadaśī* (6, Citradīpaprakaraṇam, vv. 236, 212) said to have been composed by Vidyāraṇya :

मायाख्यायाः कामधेनोर्वत्सौ जीवेश्वरावुभौ ।
यथेच्छं पिबतां द्वैतं तत्तत्वं त्वद्वैतमेव हि ।।

आनन्दमयविज्ञानमयावीश्वरजीवकौ ।
मायया कल्पितावेतौ ताभ्यां सर्वं प्रकल्पितम् ।।

This consigns the very concept of Īśvara along with that of *jīva* to the illusory domain and states that in the ultimate analysis the *saguṇa* aspect of *Brahman* is only a product of *māyā* and hence illusory. That this view which Nīlakaṇṭha foists on these passages of the *Mahābhārata* is not the basic purport of the *Mahābhārata* and much less of Bhīṣma is very much evident in the beginning verses of this chapter. Upon Yudhiṣṭhira's request to narrate him the glorious names of Śiva, Bhīṣma replies as follows in order to convey the supreme greatness of Śiva (14.3, 4ab,5) :

अशक्तोऽहं गुणान् वक्तुं महादेवस्य धीमतः ।
यो हि सर्वगतो देवो न च सर्वत्र दृश्यते ।।

ब्रह्मविष्णुसुरेशानां स्रष्टा च प्रभुरेव च ।

प्रकृतीनां परत्वेन पुरुषस्य च यः परः ।
अक्षरं परमं ब्रह्म असच्च सदसच्च यः ।।

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In these passages Śiva is clearly stated as the highest *Brahman* (*paramam brahma*) transcending the matter (*prakṛti*) as well as the selves (*puruṣa*) but at the same time becoming everything – the supreme cause as well as the manifested effect.

Here one may cite a similar passage

ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं विश्वरूपाय वै नमो नमः ।।

from the *Yājñikyupaniṣat* also known as *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣat* (23) (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* 10.23.1) where the epithet *param brahma* is used with regard to Śiva who is also referred to as Virūpākṣa, which is a special epithet that is applicable only to Śiva and to none else.

Also we may recall Kālidāsa's famous invocatory verse in the *Vikramorvaśīya* (I.ab):

वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी
यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः।

and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.16.1) passage,

सर्वो वै रुद्रस्तस्मै रुद्राय नमो अस्तु।
पुरुषो वै रुद्रः सन् महो नमो नमः ।

where the word '*puruṣa*' as the highest reality expounded in the Vedānta [texts], namely, the Upaniṣads, is used with regard to Śiva which usage also supports the view that the Vedānta corpus, according to Kālidāsa, did not envisage two levels of *Brahman* – *nirguṇa*, the highest and *saguṇa*, the lower one.

In the passages of the *Mahābhārata* under discussion nowhere do we find any mention or reference to two levels of *Brahman* – the *nirguṇa* as the highest and the *saguṇa* as the lower one – as propounded

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by Śaṅkara and others following him. As such the *Mahābhārata* passages under discussion are completely innocent of such a theory of two levels of *Brahman*. But Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary reads these views in these passages showing his strong prejudice towards Advaita Vedānta views.[8]

Appayya Dīkṣita also brings out the inner meaning of many of the intricate points of the *Mahābhārata* and proves that the basic purport of the entire epic of *Mahābhārata* is to highlight the supreme and unique greatness of Śiva. He commences his *Bhārata-tātparya-saṅgraha (BTS)* by stating "Bādarāyaṇa, the author of *Mahābhārata*, himself an incarnation of Viṣṇu, inculcates in his great epic, *Mahābhārata*, the fact that Śiva is the highest truth and he does so by repeating this fact many a time" :

श्रीबादरायणमुनिः स्वयमेव विष्णुः पार्थच्छलात् तमधिकृत्य कृते प्रबन्धे ।
तस्यापि नित्यमहितं शशिभूषण त्वामाम्रेडयन् गुरुरदर्शयदादितत्त्वम् ।।

As instances, Appayya Dīkṣita lists out various portions of the vast epic where the supreme greatness (*mahimātiśaya*) of Śiva are recounted in a detailed fashion.

The Droṇaparva which elaborates the event of Nārāyaṇa. In the Vanaparva (the Tīrthayātra section), where many holy places related to Śiva are enumerated such as Damī, Rudrakoṭi, Suparṇa, Mahākāla, Śrīparvata and many more – the Suparṇa is the Śaiva holy place where Viṣṇu worshipped Śiva and obtained many boons; the Damītīrtha (Prabhīti according to Appayya Dīkṣita) is the one where Viṣṇu worshipped Śiva as an act of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) in order to get

8 We can easily note that he cites the works of Śaṅkara, Sureśvara, Vācaspatimiśra, Vidyāraṇya, Sadānanda, Sarvajñātman, and others belonging to the Advaita school as sources of authority.

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himself free from the sins of killing the Asuras and Rākṣasas who were the enemies of the gods. Appayya Dīkṣita, citing the passage from the Anuśāsanaparva (14.232) :

यस्य ब्रह्मा च विष्णुश्च त्वं च शक्र सहामरैः।
अर्चयध्वे सदा लिङ्गं तस्मात् पूज्यतरो हि सः ॥

according to which there is none greater than Śiva whose Liṅga is worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra and all other gods, states that it is conclusively established that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and all other gods daily perform Śivapūjā [9]. Appayya Dīkṣita concludes that from the foregone discussion, the *Mahābhārata* conveys the greatness of Kṛṣṇa as its general meaning and by its implied sense (*vyañjanāvṛtti*) establishes the highest supremacy of Śiva who is worshipped with intense devotion even by Viṣṇu[10], in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, as evidenced by such numerous narrative episodes found in the epic referred earlier[11]

Appayya Dīkṣita (*BTS*, p.54) continues further that the *Mahābhārata* is actually a Kāvya as said by Vyāsa to Brahmā by the statement,

कृतं मयेदं भगवान् काव्यं परमम् ।

9 *BTS.* p.54 : ब्रह्मविष्ण्वादीनां नित्यमेव शिवाराधकत्वं स्पष्टीकृतम् ।

10 *loc.cit* : श्रीकृष्णस्य शिवपूजनेन ... तत्पूज्यस्य शिवस्य यत्पारम्यं व्यञ्जनावृत्त्या प्रतीयते।

11 The following hymn addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Śiva can be cited as example from among many with which the Anuśāsanaparva abounds, where Kṛṣṇa prays to Śiva for a staunch and firm mind devoted to *dharma* (*dharmedṛḍhatvam*), free inclination towards Yoga (*yogapriyatvam*), invincibility in battles (*yudhi śatrughātam*), undiminished fame (*yaśas*) and above all, eternal proximity to Śiva (*tava sannikarṣam*) (15.1-2):

मूर्ध्ना निपत्य नियतस्तेजः सन्निचये ततः । परमं हर्षमागम्य भागवन्तमथाब्रुवम् ॥
धर्मे दृढत्वं युधि शत्रुघातं यशस्तथाग्र्यं परमं बलं च ।
योगप्रियत्वं तव सन्निकर्षं वृणे सुतानां च शतं शतानि॥

One may note here in passing that Vyāsa being the greatest *kavi*, as mentioned earlier, remarks here " the lotus-eyed, *padmākṣa*, namely Kṛṣṇa venerated the three-eyed [God Virūpākṣa] with great devotion"– पद्माक्षस्तं विरूपाक्षमभितुष्टाव भक्तिमान् ।

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And this Kāvya is of the highest order according to both Vyāsa and Brahmā.[12] When this is the case to Appayya Dīkṣita, such a Kāvya of the highest type (*uttamakāvya*) should naturally have a central and superior meaning (*vācyātiśāyi*) to be conveyed through its implied sense (*vyañjanāvṛtti*) and the unsurpassed greatness of Śiva is the implied meaning of the entire epic of *Mahābhārata*. Appayya Dīkṣita continues to say[13] that while the epic speaks about the greatness of Nārāyaṇa at many places the same epic at so many places clearly portrays Śiva as the highest Lord fit to be worshipped even by Nārāyaṇa (*tasyāpi pūjyatayā*) which is the suggested meaning, the *vastudhvani*.[14]

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12 We may also mention that the literary theorists in medieval Kashmir, especially Ānandavardhana (9th century) and Kuntaka (late 10th century), considered the *Mahābhārata*, a model of literary expression, an example of a poem that successfully produced the aesthetic sentiment of tranquility (*śāntarasa*) in an experienced reader.

13 *BTS.* p.55: अस्य उत्कृष्टस्य चोत्तमकाव्यस्य वाच्यातिशायि यद्व्यङ्ग्यमस्ति तदेव प्रधानम् । न तु वाच्यम् । . . . इह तु वाच्य: परब्रह्मत्वसंभावनावहो नारायणस्य निरतिशयमहिमा । तस्यापि पूज्यतया सर्वत्र निबद्धस्य शिवस्य तदतिशायिसगुणमपरब्रह्मभावरूपो महिमा व्यज्यमानः । अयमेव वस्तुध्वनिरूप: ।।

14 We may cite as an instance the greatness of Śiva explained by Vyāsa to Pāṇḍavas: In the Droṇaparva we see that after the death of Droṇa, Arjuna sees sage Vyāsa and tells him what he has been encountering during the battle: 'In the battle field I continuously encounter a divinely brilliant person moving before me with his hands raised holding a *triśūla* and in whichever direction he moves there my enemies fall down dead. In fact all those enemies have already been killed by that divine person but people think that I had killed them all' (Droṇa, 202.4-8):

संग्रामे निघ्नतः शत्रूञ्शरौघैर्विमलैरहम् । अग्रतो लक्षयेयान्तं पुरुषं पावकप्रभम् ।।
ज्वलन्तं शूलम् उद्यम्य यां दिशं प्रतिपद्यते । तस्यां दिशि विशीर्यन्ते शत्रवो मे महामुने ।।
न पद्भ्यां स्पृशते भूमिं न च शूलं विमुञ्चति । शूलाच्छूलसहस्राणि निष्पेतुस्तस्य तेजसा ।।
तेन भग्नान् अरीन् सर्वान् मद्भग्नान् मन्यते जनः । तेन दग्धानि सैन्यानि पृष्ठतोऽनुदहाम्यहम् ।।
भगवंस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व को वै स पुरुषोत्तमः । शूलपाणिर्महान् कृष्ण तेजसा सूर्यसन्निभः ।।

For which Vyāsa replies that that great person was none other than Lord Śiva (Droṇa, 202,9-11, 18cd) :

प्रजापतीनां प्रथमं तैजसं पुरुषं विभुम् । भुवनं भूर्भुवं देवं सर्वलोकेश्वरं प्रभुम् ।।
ईशानं वरदं पार्थ दृष्टवानसि शङ्करम् । तं गच्छ शरणं देवं सर्वादिं भुवनेश्वरम् ।।
महादेवं महात्मानम् ईशानं जटिलं शिवम् । त्र्यक्षं महाभुजं रुद्रं शिखिनं चीरवाससम् ।।
दातारं चैव भक्तानां प्रसादविहितान् वरान् ।

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Appayya Dīkṣita substantiates his view by citing many passages from the Ānuśāsanaparva (14.408-10)[15], Śāntiparva[16] which passages according to him just corroborate the *Taittirīyopaniṣat* passage – यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते . . . ॥

We may notice that Appayya Dīkṣita is also alive to the fact that at some places in the *Mahābhārata*, Śiva in the form of Rudra [in fact Nīlalohita Rudra], Samhārarudra, Sthāṇu, etc. is spoken to have been created by Brahmā in order to assist him in the maintenance of the created universe and at other places to have come out of Nārāyaṇa. Appayya Dīkṣita clarifies that these instances only speak about various manifestations of Śiva at a lesser level and these passages do not mean the supreme Śiva, the unique, highest and immutable source of the entire universe as we have noted earlier.[17]

As another instance of comparing the interpretations of Nīlakaṇṭha and Appayya Dīkṣita we may refer to the interpretation of the following verse that occurs in the beginning of the Ādiparva (I.111) :

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15 Kṛṣṇa's hymn to Śiva upon His appearing before him after getting pleased by Kṛṣṇa's staunch devotion and severe penance:

त्वं वै ब्रह्मा च रुद्रश्च वरुणोऽग्निर्मनुर्भवः । धाता त्वष्टा विधाता च त्वं प्रभुः सर्वतो मुखः ॥
त्वत्तो जातानि भूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च । त्वमादिः सर्वभूतानां संहारश्च त्वमेव हि ॥
ये चेन्द्रियार्थाश्च मनश्च कृत्स्नं ये वायवः सप्त तथैव चाग्निः।
ये वा दिविस्था देवताश्चापि पुंसां तस्मात्परं त्वामृषयो वदन्ति ॥

16 *BTS.* p.64:

यं विष्णुरिन्द्रः शम्भुश्च ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः। स्तुवन्ति विविधैः स्तोत्रैर्देवदेवं महेश्वरम् ॥
तमर्चयन्ति ये शश्वद् दुर्गाण्यतितरन्ति ते । . . . . ॥
ईश्वरश्चेतनः कर्ता पुरुषः कारणः शिवः । विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा शशी सूर्यः शक्रो देवाश्च सान्वयाः ॥
सृज्यते ग्रस्यते चैव तमोभूतमिदं यदा । अप्रज्ञातं जगत् सर्वं तदा ह्येको महेश्वरः ॥

17 *BTS.* p.70:

श्रीमहाभारते खलु श्रीसाम्बशिवः त्रिमूर्त्युत्तीर्णः त्रिमूर्त्यादिः कृत्स्नस्यापि चराचरस्य प्रपञ्चस्य स्रष्टा पाता नियन्ता संहर्ता समाराधनीयश्च प्रतिपन्नः।

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युधिष्ठिरो धर्ममयो महाद्रुमः स्कन्धोऽर्जुनो भीमसेनोऽस्य शाखाः।
माद्री सुतौ पुष्पफले समृद्धे मूलं कृष्णो ब्रह्म च ब्राह्मणाश्च ।।

This verse metaphorically compares Yudhiṣṭhira to a tree of *dharma* whose main trunk is Arjuna, Bhīmasena the branches, Nakula and Sahadeva, the flowers and fruits, the root of the tree being Kṛṣṇa, Brahma and the Brāhmaṇas. Here Nīlakaṇṭha interprets the word '*Brahma*' as the Veda as it is the source of *yajña* and the supreme knowledge.

Appayya Dīkṣita interprets the word '*Brahma*' as meaning Śiva: For, according to him though Veda is the indirect source for the Pāṇḍavas to get back their kingdom, it is not proper to find an inanimate object, namely the Vedas, in the list of persons counted in the verse mentioned above.[18]

Therefore, Appayya Dīkṣita concludes that on the strength of many passages spread in the epic (of which we have referred to some above), it is but correct to say that the word '*Brahman*' denotes Śiva. As discussed above, at many places in the *Mahābhārata* we do find Śiva as *Brahman*, the supreme reality.

Thus we have seen briefly the interpretative style and basic philosophical orientations of two of the important commentators, Appayya Dīkṣita and Nīlakaṇṭha, on the *Mahābhārata* by taking a few passages of the epic as a sample.

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18 *BTS.* p.63 :
ब्रह्मपदोक्तेन ब्रह्मपदार्थेन तद्राज्यप्राप्तिकारिणा भवितव्यम् । वेदतपस्वी यद्यपि राज्यप्राप्तिहेतुधर्मानुष्ठान-प्रमितिद्वारेणापूर्वद्वारेण च तद्राज्यप्राप्तिकारी तथापि तेन मध्यपाठो नाचेतनयोर्युक्तः, प्रायपाठविरोघात् । अतः शिव एव तत्र ब्रह्मपदेनोक्तो ज्ञायते ।

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THE USE OF ALGEBRA (*BĪJAGAṆITA*) TO SOLVE DIURNAL PROBLEMS BY THE INDIAN ASTRONOMER BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA II

SITA SUNDAR RAM

Bhāskarācārya of the 12 th century is the author of the magnum opus *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*. *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* comprises of four parts namely *Līlāvatī* (*L*) on arithmetic, *Bījagaṇita* (*BG*) on algebra, *Golādhyāya* and *Grahagaṇita* on astronomy. The chapter Tripraśnādhikāra of the *Grahagaṇita* section of *Siddāntaśiromaṇi* dealing with the three problems of time, place and direction of the planets has always received great attention and Bhāskara has many interesting problems regarding them. Bhāskara resorts to algebra which he has already dealt with in *Bījagaṇita*, to solve some of them.

Bhāskara II who had already dealt with equations in his *Bījagaṇita* uses the rules and their procedure in solving problems related to Astronomy. Two of them are taken up and their application by Bhāskara II in his *Grahagaṇita* is descussed here.

I. In the chapter on Ekavarṇasamīkaraṇa (linear equations in one variable) in *Bījagaṇita*, Bhāskara gives the rules in these verses :

यावत्तावत् कल्प्यमव्यक्त राशेः मानं तस्मिन् कुर्वतोद्दिष्टमेव ।
तुल्यौ पक्षौ साधनीयौ प्रयत्नात् त्यक्त्वा क्षिप्त्वा वाऽपि संगुण्य भक्त्वा ॥
एकाव्यक्तं शोधयेत् अन्यपक्षात् रूपाण्यन्यस्येतरस्माच्च पक्षात् ।
शेषाव्यक्तेन उद्धरेत् रूपशेशं व्यक्तं मानं जायतेऽव्यक्तराशेः ॥

"Let *yāvat tāvat* (so much as) be put for the value of the unknown quantity ; and doing with that precisely what is proposed in the instance,

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let two equal sides be carefully completed, adding or subtracting, multiplying or dividing (as the case maybe).

Subtract the unknown quantity from one side from that of the other; and the known number from that of other side. Then by the remaining unknown divide the remainder of the unknown quantity; the quotient is the distinct value of the unknown quantity."

For example consider the equation $ax + b = cx + d$. According to the *sūtra*, the unknowns are kept on one side and the knowns on the other.

So we have $ax - cx = d - b$

$$x(a - c) = (d - b)$$

$$\text{So } x = \frac{(d - b)}{(a - c)}$$

Note : The procedure is quite the same as adopted in modern mathematics. Though not explicitly stated, it applies only to linear equations in one variable. The remark about solving equations in more than one variable can give only particular solutions but not all solutions.

In the section on Madhyamāharaṇa or quadratic equations, Bhāskara gives the following rule:

अव्यक्तमूलार्णगरूपतोऽल्पं व्यक्तस्य पक्षस्य पदं यदि स्यात् ।
ऋणं धनं तच्च विधाय साध्यम् अव्यक्तमानं द्विविधं क्वचित्तु ।।

" If the root of the absolute side of the equation is less than the number, having the negative sign, comprised in the root of the side involving the unknown, then putting negative or positive, a two-fold value is found for the unknown; this is true in some cases."

Consider the equation $ax^2 + bx = c$. Multiplying by $4a$ and adding b^2 to both the sides to complete the square,

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$$4a^2x^2 + 4abx + b^2 = 4ac + b^2$$

$$(2ax + b)^2 = 4ac + b^2 \text{ then } 2ax + b = \sqrt{4ac + b^2}$$

$$2ax = \sqrt{4ac + b^2} - b, \; x = \frac{\sqrt{4ac + b^2} - b}{2a}$$

Now according to Bhaskara, if b should be numerically greater than $\sqrt{4ac+b^2}$ then the equation has two roots.

Note: In the modern treatment, the fact that $4ac + b^2$ has two square roots, one positive and one negative is used by attaching the symbol '$\pm$' to $\sqrt{4ac+b^2}$. In Bhāskara's rule it is noted that $\{2ax+b\}^2 = \{-(2ax+b)\}^2$. Clearly, beause of the concern for only practical problems to be solved, the cases where $\sqrt{4ac+b^2} - b$ and $-\sqrt{4ac+b^2} - b$ are both positive, are considered. A necessary condition therefore would be $b<0$ when a, $c>0$. Bhāskara's rule says that b should be numerically greater than $\sqrt{4ac+b^2}$ for such a situation.

II. The above concepts are used by Bhāskara in the *Tripraśnādhikāra* chapter of his astronomy treatise *Grahagaṇita,* which deals with three questions related to the direction, position and time of celestial objects;

Question 1 (*Tripraśnādhikāra*, v.75-77):

भाकर्णे खगुणाङ्गुले ३० किल सखे याम्यो भुजस्त्र्यङ्गुलो-
ऽन्यस्मिन् पञ्चदशाङ्गुले १५ ऽङ्गुलमुदग्बाहुश्च यत्रेक्षितः ।
अक्षाभां वद तत्र षट्कृतगजै ८४६ र्यद्वापमज्यां समां
दृष्ट्वेष्टामनयोः श्रुतिं च सभुजां द्राग्ब्रूहि मेऽक्षप्रभाम् ॥

When K the hypotenuse is 30 units and *Bhuja* b (south) is 3 units or when K is 15 units and therefore *Bhuja* (north) is 1 unit, what is the equinoctial shadow? Also when *Apamajyā* or R sin δ is 846, and K and b are given, what are the equinoctial shadows?

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Answer for the first part of Question 1 (*Tripraśnādhyāya*, v.76)

भाद्वयस्य भुजयोः समाशयोर्व्यस्तकर्णाहतयोर्यदन्तरम् ।
ऐक्यमन्यककुभोः पलप्रभा जायते श्रुतिवियोगभाजितम् ॥

The equinoctial shadow is obtained when the sum or difference of the product of the *Bhuja* and *Karṇa* (according as the *Bhujas* are in south or north) and divided by the difference of the 2 *Karṇas*.

Here the first *Bhuja* b_1 is 3 in the south. Here *Karṇa* is $K_1 = 30$. The other *Bhuja* b_2 is 1 (north). Here *Karṇa* is $K_2 = 15$. Now each *Bhuja* is multiplied by the respective *Karṇa* and added since the *Bhujas* are in opposite direction; the sum is divided by the difference of the two *Karṇas* to yield the equinoctial shadow, i.e., $s = \frac{(b_1K_2 + b_2K_1)}{K_1 - K_2}$. If the *Bhujas* are in the same direction, it should be the difference i.e.,

$$s = \frac{(b_1K_2 - b_2K_1)}{K_1 - K_2}$$

Upagati :

अस्योपपत्तिस्तावदुच्यते । सा चाव्यक्तक्रियया । अत्र पलभा प्रमाणं यावत् तावत् या १ । इयं दक्षिणेन भुजेन युता जाता कंर्णवृत्ताग्रा या १ रू ३ ।

इयं त्रिज्यागुणा कर्णभक्ता जाताग्रा या त्रि १ त्रि ३ / ३० । एवं अन्यभुजादपि पलभा या १ । इयमुत्तरेण भुजेनोना कर्णवृत्ताग्रा भवति या रू १̇ । इयं त्रिज्यागुणा कर्णभक्ता जाताग्रा या त्रि १ त्रि १̇ / १५ अनयोरन्यच्छेदगुणयोश्छेदगमे समशोधनार्थं न्यासः या त्रि १५ त्रि ४५ / या त्रि ३० त्रि ३̇०

अनयोस्त्रिज्यापवर्तेकृत एकाव्यक्तं शोधयेदन्यपक्षादित्यादिना यावत् तावत् शेषं कर्णान्तरतुल्यं हरो जातः १५ । रूपशेषमन्योन्यकर्णाहतभुजयोर्योगो जातो भाज्यः ७५। अत उपपन्नं भाद्वयस्य भुजयोः समाशयोरित्यादि ।

The demonstration is through algebra – Let the shadow be x. When this is added to *Bhuja* (south), we have *Karṇavṛttāgra* $(x + 3)$.

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When this is multiplied by *Trijyā* R and divided by *Karṇa*, we have *Agra* equal to $\frac{(Rx + 3R)}{30}$. Similarly let x be the shadow for the other *Bhuja* also. Subtracting *Bhuja* (north) we have *Karṇavṛttāgra* $(x - 1)$. When this is multiplied by *Trijyā R* and divided by *Karṇa*, we have *Agra* equal to $\frac{(Rx - R)}{15}$. Equating both the sides since *Agra* is common to both:

$$\frac{Rx + 3R}{30} = \frac{Rx - R}{15} \text{ or}$$

$$R\ 15\ x + R\ 45 = R\ 30\ x - 30\ R$$

Cancelling the common term R and keeping the absolute terms on one side and the unknowns on the other, according to the Sūtra given on *Bījagaṇita viz., ekāvyaktam* (*BG.* verse p.1) etc., $45x + 30 = 30x - 15x$ or $75 = 15x$ i.e., we have the difference of the *Karṇas* $(K_2 - K_1) = 15$ as the denominator and the sum of the products $(b_1K_2 + b_2K_1) = 75$ as the numerator.

$$x = \frac{75}{15} = 5$$

Thus it is proved that the equinoctial shadow is obtained when the sum or difference (according as the *Bhujas* are in the same direction or opposite ones) of the products of the *Bhujas* and their respective *Karṇas* is divided by the difference of the 2 *Karṇas*.

Answer for the second part of Question 1 (*Tripraśnādhyāya*, v.77-8)

क्रान्तिज्याकर्णवधात् त्रिज्याप्तकृतिर्लघुः स दोः कृत्या ।
हीनोऽब्धिमनु १४४घ्नः स्यादाद्योऽथ परो भुजः कृतेन्द्र १४४घ्नः ॥
तौ लघुवेदेन्द्रा १४४ न्तरभक्तौ परवर्गतो यदाद्याढ्यात् ।
मूलं परयुतवियुतं सौम्ये याम्ये भुजे पलभा ॥

Krāntijyā or $R \sin \delta$ is multiplied by the given *Karṇa* and divided by *Trijyā*. This is squared and called *Laghu*. The square of

Bhuja is subtracted from *Laghu* and the difference is multiplied by 144 and this is *Ādya*. Then *Bhuja* is multiplied by 144 and this is called *Para* or *Anya*. Both *Ādya* and *Anya* are divided by the difference between *Laghu* and144. These are the (new) *Ādya* and (new) *Anya*. Then according to the *Sūtra*, the square of *Anya* is added to *Ādya* and the square root is obtained. The sum or difference of this and *Ādya* according as the *Bhuja* is the north or south, gives the *Palabhā*.

क्रान्तिज्योद्दिष्टच्छायाकर्णेन गुण्या त्रिज्यया भाज्या । फलस्य वर्गो लघुसंज्ञः पृथगनष्टः स्थाप्यः । स लघुर्भुजवर्गेणोनोवेदेन्द्रै १४४ गुँण्यः । स आद्यसंज्ञः स्यात् । अथ भुजो वेदेन्द्रै १४४ गुँणितोऽन्यसंज्ञः स्यात् । तावाद्यान्यौ तस्य लघोर्वेदेन्द्राणां १४४ चान्तरेणापवर्त्यौ । ततोऽन्यवर्गादाद्येन युताद्यन्मूलं तदुत्तरे भुजे सति परेण युतं याम्ये वर्जितं पलभा भवतीति सूत्रार्थः ।

अस्योपपत्तिर्मध्यमाहरणबीजेन । यदा त्रिशदङ्गुलः कर्णः । यत्र त्र्यङ्गुलो ३ याम्यो भुजः। षट्कृतगजैस्तुल्या ८४६ क्रान्तिज्या । तत्र तावदुच्यते । पलभाप्रमाणं यावत्तावत् १ । इयं याम्येन भुजेन युता जाता कर्णवृत्ताग्रा या १ रू ३ । अथ प्रकारान्तरेण कर्णवृत्ताग्रा । तत्र क्रान्तिज्या पलकर्णगुणा द्वादश १२ भक्ता किलाग्रा स्यात् । तत्र पलकर्णो न ज्ञायते किन्त्वव्यक्तात्मकः पलकर्णवर्गो ज्ञायते । स चैवम् । पलभावर्गो द्वादशवर्गयुतः पलकर्णवर्गः स्यात् याव १ रू १४४ वर्गेण वर्गं गुणयेद्भजेच्चेति क्रान्तिज्यावर्गोऽनेन गुण्यो द्वादशवर्गेण भाज्यः फलमग्रावर्गः स्यात् याव.क्रांव १ क्रांव १४४ / १४४ अथ त्रिभज्याहृताार्काग्रका कर्णनिघ्नीति कर्णवर्गेणायं गुण्यस्त्रिज्यावर्गेण भाज्यः । एवं कर्णवृत्ताग्रावर्गो भवति याव.क्रांव.कव १· क्रांव.कव १४४ / त्रिव १४४

अत्र भाज्यराशावव्यक्तवर्गस्थाने क्रान्तिज्यावर्गे ७१५७१६ कर्णवर्गगुणे त्रिज्यावर्ग ११८१९८४ च्छिन्ने जातो लघुसंज्ञः । रूपस्थाने च क्रान्तिज्यावर्गे कर्णवर्गगुणे वेदेन्द्र १४४ गुणे च त्रिज्यावर्गच्छिन्ने जातो लघुर्वेदेन्द्रगुणोऽङ्गुलानि तदधो व्यङ्गुलानि च बालावबोधार्थं स्थापितानि। तस्य राशेर्यश्छेदः: सोऽपि त्रिज्यावर्गच्छिन्नस्तदधोन्यस्तस्तथा दर्शनम् । याव ५४ / ३१ रू ७८५० / २४ छेद : १४४ ।

य एव क्रान्तिज्यावर्गः कर्णवर्गगुणस्त्रिज्यावर्गच्छिन्नः सैव क्रान्तिज्याकर्णवधात् त्रिज्यासकृतिः।

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अयं राशिः कर्णवृत्ताग्रवर्गः पूर्वकल्पिताया अस्याः कर्णवृत्ताग्रायाः या १ रू ३ । वर्गोणानेन याव १ या ६ रू ९ समः कार्यः। अयं समच्छेदकरणार्थं शङ्कुवर्गे १४४ गुणितस्ततश्छेदगमे कृते

याव १४४ या ८६४ रू १२९६

शोधनार्थं न्यासः याव ५४/३१ या ० रू ७८५०/२४ समशोधने कृते जातमुपरिपक्षे लघुवेदेन्द्रान्तरतुल्यो यावराशिः । कृतेन्द्र १४४ घ्नो भुजो द्विगुणश्च याराशिः । द्वितीयपक्षे जाते लघुर्दोः कृत्या हीनोऽब्धिमनु १४४ घ्नश्च । याव ८९/२९ या ८३४ रू ६५५४/२४ । अयं रूपराशिराद्यसंज्ञः कल्पितः ।

यो मध्यराशिरर्धितः स भुजः कृतेन्द्र १४४ घ्नो जातः । सोऽन्यसंज्ञः कल्पितः । अथ पक्षौ लघुवेदेन्द्रान्तरेणापवर्तितौ जातौ

याव १ या १/४० रू ० ।
याव ० या ० रू ८३/१५ ।

अनयोः पक्षयोरपवर्त्तितान्यवर्ग २/२ ३/१ तुल्यानि रूपाणि प्रक्षिप्य मूले गृहीते

या १ रू ४/५० ।
या ० रू १/५० ।

अनयोः पुनः साम्ये क्रियमाणे व्यक्तपक्षस्य मूलमव्यक्त पक्षमूलस्य रूपैरन्यतुल्यैरूनमेकेन भक्तं सज्जाता पलभा ५ । उत्तरे भुजे त्वन्यतुल्यरूपाणि ऋणं भवन्ति तैः शोध्यत्वाद्युतं पलभा स्यादित्युपपन्नम् ।

Bhaskara again demonstrates this with algebra of quadratic equation. Let the unknown equinoctial shadow be denoted by *S*. We consider the case when the *Bhuja b* is south.

Now *Palakarṇa* K_p is the hypotenuse of the latitudinal triangle and is given by $\frac{12}{\cos\varphi}$ and $K_p^2 = S^2 + 12^2$. Also $\cos\varphi = \frac{12}{K_p}$

By definition, *Karnvṛttāgra* $a_1 = S + b$ or $a_1^2 = (S+b)^2$

Karṇavṛttāgra a_1 can also be written as $\frac{KA}{R}$ where A is the *Agra* equal to $\frac{R\sin\delta}{\cos\varphi}$. This can be written as $a_1 = \frac{KR\ \sin\delta}{\cos\varphi} = K\left(\frac{K_p}{12}\right)\left(\frac{R\sin\delta}{R}\right)$ and

$$a_1^2 = \left(\frac{KR\sin\delta}{R}\right)^2\left(\frac{K_p}{12}\right)^2 = \left(\frac{KR\sin\delta}{R}\right)^2\left(\frac{S^2+144}{144}\right)$$

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Equating the two expressions for a_1^2 ,

$$(S+b)^2 = \left(\frac{KR \sin\delta}{R}\right)^2 \left(\frac{S^2+144}{144}\right) = L\left(\frac{S^2+144}{144}\right)$$

$$L = \left(\frac{KR \sin\delta}{R}\right)^2 \text{ is the } \textit{Laghu}$$

The above is a quadratic expression for the *Palabhā S*. The equation can be written as

$144\,(S^2+2bS+b^2) = L\,(S^2+144)$. Therefore,

$S^2(144-L)+2\,(144b)\,S = 144\,(L-b^2)$

Now $144b$ and $144\,(L-b^2)$ are called *Anya* and *Ādya* in the first instance. Dividing the above equation by $144-L$, we have

$$\frac{S^2+2(144\,b)S}{144-L} = \frac{144\,(L-b^2)}{144-L}$$

The new *Anya* and new *Ādya* are defined by :

New *Anya* $= \dfrac{144\,b}{144-L}$ and New *Ādya* $= \dfrac{144\,(L-b^2)}{144-L}$

Then $S^2+2.\,\textit{Anya}.\,S = \textit{Ādya}$

Adding $\textit{Anya}^2$ to both sides to complete the square,

Then $S^2+2.\,\textit{Anya}.\,S+\textit{Anya}^2 = (S+\textit{Anya})^2 = \textit{Ādya}+\textit{Anya}^2$

In the numerical example discussed by Bhaskara, $R \sin\delta = 846$, $R \sin^2\delta = 715716$. *Bhuja* $b = 3$, *Karṇa* $= 30$, $R = 3438$, so that $R^2 = 11819844$. Then the *Laghu L* is given by

$$L = \left\{\frac{KR \sin\delta}{R}\right\}^2 = \frac{715716 \times 900}{11819844} = 54'\,31''$$

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$144 - 54'\ 31'' = 89'\ 29''$

We find that the

$$\text{New } Anya = \frac{144b}{144 - L} = \frac{432}{89'29''} = 4'50''$$

$$\text{and New } \bar{A}dya = \frac{144\left(L - b^2\right)}{144 - L} = \frac{144\left(54'31'' - 9\right)}{89'29''} = 73'15''$$

Then the *Palabhā*, $S = -4'50'' + \sqrt{73'15'' + \left(4'50''\right)^2} = 5 \text{ units}$

When the declination is north, $a_1 = S - b$

Anya always refers to the magnitude, and in this case we would have $S^2 - 2.\ Anya.\ S + Anya^2 = (S - Anya)^2 = \bar{A}dya + Anya^2$

$$\text{Hence } S + Anya = \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} \text{ or}$$

$$S = -Anya + \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2}$$

Procedure for finding *Chāyākarṇa* (*Tripraśnādhyāya*, vv. 49-51)

व्यासार्धवर्गः पलभाकृतिघ्नो दिग्ज्याकृतिर्द्वादशवर्गनिघ्नी ।
तत्संयुतिः स्यात् प्रथमस्तथान्यस्त्रिज्याक्षभाग्राभिहतिस्ततस्तौ ।। ४९ ।।

दिग्ज्याग्रयोर्वर्गवियोगभक्तौ यदन्यवर्गेण युताद्यराशेः ।
पदं तदन्योनयुतं श्रुतिर्वा गोलक्रमादिष्टदिशं गतेऽर्के ।। ५०।।

स्यादग्रकाया यदि दिग्ज्यकाल्पा तदान्यवर्गात् प्रथमेन हीनात् ।
मूलेन हीनः सहितो द्विधान्यः कर्णद्वयं स्यादिति सौम्यगोले ।। ५१ ।।

These verses describe the procedure for finding the expression for the *Chāyākarṇa* K, for an arbitrary azimuth a. Note that the modern azimuth $A = 90 \pm a$; R is the *Trijyā*, $S = 12 \times \tan \varphi$ is the ***Palabhā***. D is

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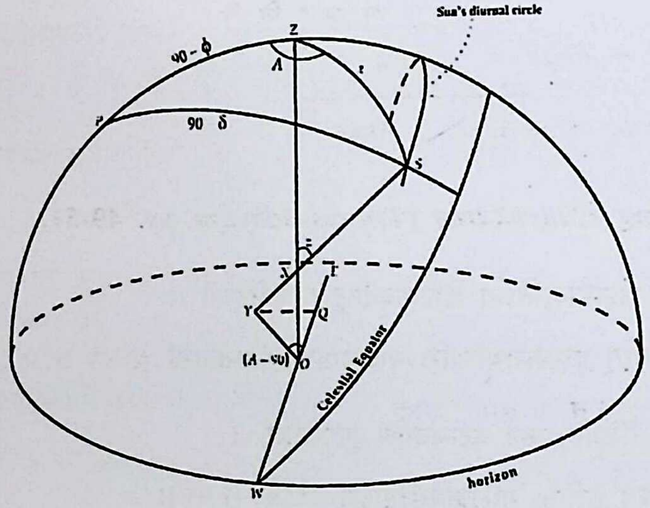
R sin a or *Digjyā* and *Agrā* $A = \frac{R\sin\delta}{\cos\varphi}$; *Prathamā* $= R^2 s^2 + D^2\, 12^2$;

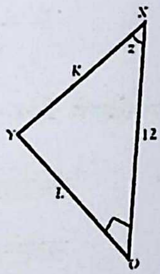
Anya $= R\,A\,s$; new *Ādya* $= \frac{\bar{A}dya}{A^2 - D^2}$, new *Anya* $= \frac{Anya}{A^2 - D^2}$

Then *Chāyākarṇa,* $K = \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} + Anya$ when declination is south and $\sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} - Anya$ when declination is north.

When D < A, then new *Ādya* $= \frac{\bar{A}dya}{A^2 - D^2}$, new *Anya* $= \frac{Anya}{A^2 - D^2}$

Then it is stated that when the declination is north, $K = Anya \pm \sqrt{Anya^2 - \bar{A}dya}$





There are two possible values for *Chāyākarṇa K* for the same value of *a* in this case, when the declination is north. It is not stated but it is implicit that there is no change when D < A and the declination is south.

अत्रोपपत्तिः बीजगणितप्रक्रियया ।

Bhaskara gives the *Upapatti* through algebra.

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एकत्र त्रिज्यावर्गः पलभावर्गेण गुण्योऽन्यत्र दिग्ज्याकृतिर्द्वादशवर्गेण गुण्या । तयो राश्योर्योगः प्रथमसंज्ञः स्थाप्यः । अथ त्रिज्याया अक्षभाया अग्रायाश्च तिसृणां घातोऽन्यसंज्ञश्च स्थाप्यः । अथ दिग्ज्याया अग्रायाश्च वर्गान्तरेण तावाद्यान्यावपवर्त्यौ । ततो य आद्यराशिस्तस्मादन्यराशेर्वर्गेण युताद्यत् पदं तदन्येन राशिनोनं सदुत्तरगोले दक्षिणगोले तु युतं सदिष्टदिशंगतेऽर्के छायाकर्णो वा भवति । अथोत्तरगोले यदि दिग्ज्याग्रायाः सकाशादल्पा भवति तदान्यराशेर्वर्गात् प्रथमेन हीनाद्यन्मूलं तेनान्यराशिरेकत्र हीनोऽन्यत्र युतः सन् द्विधा कर्णो भवति । यत्र युतः कृतस्तत्र सममण्डलादुत्तरस्थेऽर्के यत्र हीनः कृतस्तत्र दक्षिणस्थ इति ज्ञयय् । कदाचिदुत्तरतोऽपिकर्णद्वयं भवति ।

अत्रोपपत्तिर्बीजगणितप्रक्रियया । तत्राव्यक्तं याकारोपलक्षितं त्रिज्याग्रादिका आद्याक्षरोपलक्षिताः कृत्वा बीजप्रक्रिया प्रदर्श्यते । तद्यथा । छायाकर्णप्रमाणं यावत्तावत् १ अस्माद्भुजः साध्यः । त्रिभज्याहृतार्काग्रका कर्णनिघ्नीत्यादिना दक्षिणगोल उत्तरा जाता कर्णवृत्ताग्रा

या. अ १ ।
त्रि १ ।

इमं कर्णवृत्ताग्रा पलच्छायया संस्कृता जातो भुजः

या. अ १ वि. त्रि १
त्रि १

अस्मात् त्रिज्याहतोऽसौ प्रभया विभक्त इत्यादिना दिग्ज्या साध्या । अयं त्रिज्यागुणितः या.अ १ वि. त्रि १ । कर्णवर्गाद्द्वादशवर्गेऽपनीते जातश्छायावर्गः याव १ रू १४४ । वर्गेण वर्गं गुणयेद्भजेच्चेत्यनेन पूर्वराशिवर्गो भाज्यः । पूर्वराशेर्यावद्वर्गः क्रियते तावत् प्रथमं यावत्तावद्वर्गगुणितोऽग्रावर्गः । ततो याकारगुणितोऽग्रात्रिज्यापलभानां घातो द्विगुणस्ततः पलभावर्गगुणस्त्रिज्यावर्गो रूपराशिरन्ते भवति । स तेन छायावर्गेण भक्तो जातः

याव. अव १ या. अ. वि. त्रि २ विव. त्रिव १
याव १ रू १४४

दिग्ज्यावर्गः । अतोऽयं दिग्ज्यावर्गेण समः क्रियते । अत्र पक्षौ समच्छेदीकृत्य छेदगमे तयोः शोधनार्थं न्यासः

याव. अव १ या. अ. वि. त्रि २ विव. त्रिव १
याव. दिव १ या ० दिव १४४

अत्रैकाव्यक्तं शोधयेदन्यपक्षादित्यादिना समशोधने कृते जातं प्रथमपक्षे प्रथमस्थाने दिग्ज्याग्रावर्गान्तरं यावद्वर्गगुणितं द्वितीयस्थाने त्रिज्याक्षभाग्राभिहतिर्द्विगुणिता यावत्तावद्गुणिता ऋणगता च । द्वितीयपक्षे रूपस्थाने व्यासार्धवर्गः पलभाकृतिघ्नो दिग्ज्याकृतिर्द्वादशवर्गनिघ्नी तत्संयुतिर्जाता । शोधितपक्षयोर्न्यासः।

याव. दिव १ याव. अव १ या. अव. १ं या. अ. वि. त्रि २ं
विव. त्रिव १ दिव १४४

अथ पक्षयोर्मूलार्थं दिग्ज्याग्रावर्गवियोगेनापवर्तनं कृतम् । अव्यक्तवर्गस्थाने रूपं जातम् । इतरौ राशी अपवर्त्तितौ जातौ लघू । तत्र यो रूपराशिः सोऽत्र प्रथमसंज्ञः कृतः । अव्यक्तस्थाने त्रिज्याक्षभाग्राभिहति-

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र्दिग्ज्याग्रावर्गवियोगभक्ता चान्यसंज्ञः कृतः । इदानीं पक्षयोरन्यवर्गतुल्यानि रूपाणि प्रक्षिप्या-व्यक्तपक्षस्य मूलम् । या १ अन्यः १ । इदं प्रथमपक्षमूलम् । अथान्यवर्गेण युताद्यराशेर्मूलं द्वितीयपक्षमूलम् । तेन सह प्रथमपक्षमूलस्य पुनः समीकरणम् । तत्र प्रथमपक्षमूले योऽन्यो रूपराशिः स द्वितीयपक्षमूले समशोधने ऋणगतत्वात् क्षेप्यो भवति दक्षिणगोले । उत्तरगोले तु धनगतत्वाच्छोध्यः ।

यदोत्तरगोलेऽग्राया अल्पे दिग्गुण इच्छादिक्छायासाधनं तदा दिग्ज्यावर्गादग्रावर्गो न शुध्यति । अतः समक्रियायां विलोमशोधने क्रियमाणेऽव्यक्तपक्षमूलेऽन्य ऋणगतो लभ्यते स च द्वितीयपक्षमूलादधिकः स्यात् तदा -

अव्यक्तमूलर्णगरूपतोऽल्पं व्यक्तस्य पक्षस्य पदं यदि स्यात् ।
ऋणं धनं तच्च विधाय साध्यमव्यक्तमानं द्विविधं क्वचित् तत् ।

इत्यस्याः परिभाषाया विषयः । अतस्तत्र द्विधा श्रुतिः स्यादित्युपपन्नम् ।

The algebraic notation is by giving some symbol for the unknown and the first letters are chosen for Radius, *Agrā* and so on. So let the unknown *cāyākarṇa* be denoted by K. From this the *Bhuja* (B) is to be found out. In the southern hemisphere the *Karṇāgra* is equal to the product of *Karṇa* and *Agrā* divided by Radius i.e.

$Karṇāgra = K \times \frac{A}{R} = s + B$ (where s is the *viṣuvacchāyā* and B is the *Bhuja*)

Therefore by *Samskāra*, $B = \left\{\frac{K \times A}{R}\right\} + s = \frac{KA + sR}{R}$

Multiplying this B by R and dividing by S (where S is the shadow) we have:

$$Digiyā = \frac{(KA + sR)}{S} = \frac{(KA + sR)}{\sqrt{K^2 - 12^2}}$$

$$D^2 = \frac{(KA + sR)^2}{K^2 - 12^2} \text{ since } S^2 = K^2 - 12^2$$

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Since a square number can be multiplied or divided by another square number, the previous term i.e. $(KA + sR)$ can be squared and divided by S^2. When $(KA + sR)$ is squared, the first term is K^2A^2, the second term is $+ 2KARs$ and the third term is the constant term s^2R^2 at the end. When these terms are divided by S^2, we have $\frac{K^2A^2 + 2KARs + s^2R^2}{K^2 - 144}$. The result is square of *Digjyā* or D^2. Equating both sides we have

$$K^2A^2 + 2KARs + s^2R^2 = D^2(K^2 - 144) = D^2K^2 - 144D^2 + 0K$$

or

$$K^2(D^2 - A^2) - 2KARs = s^2R^2 + 144D^2.$$ To find out the unknown *K*, all the terms have to be divided by $(D^2 - A^2)$. By doing so, the coefficient of K^2 becomes unity. The other two terms are also divided by $(D^2 - A^2)$. Let the constant term i.e. $\frac{s^2R^2 + 144D^2}{D^2 - A^2}$ be called *Prathamā* or *Ādya*. Let $\frac{2ARs}{D^2 - A^2}$ be called *Anya*. For extracting the square root, let the square of *Anya* be added to both sides. The equation reduces to :

$$K^2 - 2K\,Anya + Anya^2 = \bar{A}dya + Anya^2$$

$$(K - Anya)^2 = \bar{A}dya + Anya^2 \text{ or}$$

$$K - Anya = \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} \text{ or}$$

$$K = Anya + \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2}$$

and $\sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} - Anya$ when declination is north

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In the northern hemisphere, the shadow has to be determined when *Digjyā* is less than *Agrā*. In that case we cannot subtract A^2 from D^2. Therefore the equation has to be written as

$$K^2(A^2 - D^2) - 2KARs = -s^2R^2 - 144D^2. \text{ Here } \frac{s^2R^2 + 144D^2}{A^2 - D^2}$$

is called *Ādya* and $\frac{2ARs}{A^2 - D^2}$ is called *Anya*. Both are positive. Completing the square by adding $Anya^2$ and taking the square root,

$$K - Anya = \pm\sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2} \text{ or } K = Anya \pm \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2}$$

for northern declination. In this case, K is positive even if we take the the negative sign before the square root in the r.h.s. Hence there are two solutions for the *Chāyākarṇa* K, for the northerly direction when the *Digjya* D is less than *Agra*.

For southerly direction, we would find that:

$$K = -Anya \pm \sqrt{\bar{A}dya + Anya^2}.$$

In this case K is negative for both positive and negative signs before the square root, and there is no *Chāyā* corresponding to $D < A$. The formal solutions would correspond to the situation when the sun is below the horizon.

Also when the two sides are equated, we find that *Anya* is negative and is more than the square root on the r.h.s numerically. Then according to the sutra stated earlier *viz.* अव्यक्तमूलार्णगरूपतोऽल्प ... क्वचित्तु ॥ which means "If the root of the absolute side of the equation is less than the number, having the negative sign, comprised in the root of the side

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involving the unknown, then putting negative or positive, a two-fold value is found for the unknown;this is true in some cases, there are two values for *Karṇa*".

The Acarya has proclaimed that there is no single method for finding the shadow in any direction.

Question 2 (*Tripraśnādhyāya,* v. 100)

Another question that has been asked is the following :

द्युज्यकापमगुणार्कदोर्ज्यकासंयुतिं खखखबाणा ५००० संमिताम् ।
वीक्ष्य भास्करमवेहि मध्यमं मध्यमाहरणमस्ति चेच्छ्रुतम् ।।

"If you are competent at what is called *Madhyamāharaṇa*, then calculate the longitude of the sun given that the sum of *Dyujyā* ($R \cos \delta$), *Apamajyā* ($R \sin \delta$) and *Dorjyā* ($R \sin \lambda$) is equal to 5000?"

Answer to Question 2 (*Tripraśnādhyāya,* v. 101):

द्युज्यापक्रमभानुदोर्गुणयुतिस्तिथ्यु १५ द्धृताब्ध्या ४ हता
स्यादाद्यो युतिवर्गतो यम २ गुणात् सप्तामरा ३३७ प्तोनिताः ।
नागाद्र्यङ्गदिगङ्कका: ९१०६७८ पदमतस्तेनाद्य ऊनो भवेद्
व्यासार्धेऽष्टगुणाब्धिपावकः ३४३८ मिते क्रान्तिज्यकातो रविः ।।

योदिष्टा रविदोर्ज्याद्युज्याक्रान्तिज्यानां युतिः सा पृथक्स्था चतुर्भिर्गुण्य पञ्चदशभि र्भाज्या । फलमाद्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । अथ युतिकृतेः पृथक्स्थाया द्विगुणायाः सप्तमरै ३३७ र्भागे गृहीते यल्लभ्यते तेनोनिताः । के । नागाद्र्यङ्गदिगङ्ककाः । अत एभ्यो यत् पदं तेनाद्य ऊनीकृतः सन् क्रान्तिज्या भवति । सा चक्रकलाव्यासार्धे । अस्या रविः साध्यः ।

Let the sum of *Dyujyā, Apamajyā* (*Krāntijyā*) and *Dorjyā* of the given sun be multiplied by 4 and divided by 15, Let the result be called *Ādya*. The square of the above sum is multiplied by 2 and divided by 337 and the result is subtracted from *Ādya* and the result is *Krāntijyā*. This is for *Trijyā* = 3438. From this the longitude of the sun is calculated.

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Upapatti is through algebra according to Bhaskara.

अत्रोपपत्तिः । क्रान्तिज्याप्रमाणं यावत्तावत् १ । इयं त्रिज्यागुण जिनांशज्यया भक्ता रविदोर्ज्या स्यात् । या ३४३८/१३९७ । इयं क्रान्तिज्यायुक्ता । उद्दिष्टयुतेः शोध्या । शेषं द्युज्या भवति

याव ४८३५ रू ६९८५०००
छेद : रू १३९७

अथ प्रकारान्तरेण द्युज्यावर्गः याव ९ं त्रिव १ । अस्य पूर्वद्युज्यावर्गेण साम्यम् । तत्र पक्षौ समच्छेदीकृत्य छेदगमे शोधने च कृते मूलग्रहणार्थं यावत्तावद्वर्गाङ्केन पक्षयोश्छिद्यमानयोर्भाज्यभाजकयोर्यथायोगमपवर्तने च क्रियमाणे एवं विधा क्रियोपपद्यते । अत्र क्रान्तिज्या ४६०/१५ । द्युज्या ३४०७/५ । दोर्ज्या ११३२/३९ । रविः ०/११/१४/३२ ।

Let *Krāntijyā* be the unknown x

$$Dyujy\bar{a} = \sqrt{R^2 - x^2}$$

$$Dorjy\bar{a} = \frac{x R}{R \sin 24} = \frac{x R}{1397}$$

$$\text{The given sum} = x + \sqrt{R^2 - x^2} + \frac{x R}{1397} = 5000$$

$$\text{Therefore, } \sqrt{R^2 - x^2} = 5000 - x \times \left(1 + \frac{x R}{1397}\right) = 5000 - x \times \left(1 + \frac{3438}{1397}\right)$$

$$= 5000 - x \times \left(\frac{4835}{1397}\right) = \frac{698500 - 4835x}{1397}$$

$$R^2 - x^2 = 5000^2 + x^2 \times \left(\frac{4835^2}{1397^2}\right) - \frac{2 \times 5000 \times 4835 \times x}{1397}$$

$$\text{Therefore, } x^2\left(1 + \frac{4835^2}{1397^2}\right) - \frac{2 \times 5000 \times 4835 \times x}{1397} = R^2 - 5000^2$$

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i.e., $x^2(1397^2+4835^2)-2\times5000\times4835\times1397\times x=1397^2(R^2-5000^2)$

$x^2(25328834)-2\times5000\times4835\times1397\times x=1397^2(R^2-5000^2)$

Therefore, $x^2-\dfrac{2\times5000\times4835\times1397\times x}{25328834}=\dfrac{1397^2(R^2-5000^2)}{25328834}$

Let $\dfrac{4835\times1397}{25328834}$ be approximated to $\dfrac{4}{15}$

The equation can be written as:

$$x^2-\frac{2\times5000\times4x}{15}=\frac{1397^2(R^2-5000^2)}{25328834}$$

Here $\dfrac{5000\times4}{15}$ is symbolized as *Ādya* so that we have the equation

$$x^2-2\bar{A}dya\;x=\frac{1397^2(R^2-5000^2)}{25328834}$$

$$\text{Therefore,}\quad (x^2-\bar{A}dya)^2=\bar{A}dya^2+\frac{1397^2(R^2-5000^2)}{25328834}$$

$$\Rightarrow (x^2-\bar{A}dya)^2=\bar{A}dya^2+\frac{1397^2(3438^2-5000^2)}{25328834}$$

$$=5000^2\times\frac{16}{225}-\frac{5000^2\times1397^2}{25328834}+\frac{3438^2\times1397^2}{25328834}$$

$$=5000^2\times\left(\frac{16}{225}-\frac{1397^2}{25328834}\right)+\frac{3438^2\times1397^2}{25328834}$$

Here $\left(\dfrac{16}{225}-\dfrac{1397^2}{25328834}\right)$ is approximately equal to $\dfrac{-2}{337}$ and

$\dfrac{3438^2\times1397^2}{25328834}=910678$ so that we have $x=\bar{A}dya\pm\sqrt{910678-\dfrac{2\times5000^2}{337}}$

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Since *Krāntijyā* is not greater than R, the positive sigSince *Krāntijyā* is not greater than R, the positive sign is not taken; only the negative sign is taken.

We find $x = \frac{5000 \times 4}{15} - \sqrt{910678 - \frac{2 \times 5000^2}{337}} = 460'14''$ as compared to $460'15''$ as stated by Bhāskara.

$Dyujy\bar{a} = \sqrt{R^2 - x^2} = \sqrt{3438^2 - 460 \times 15^2} = 3407'3''$ as compared to $3407'5''$ as stated by Bhāskara.

$Dorjy\,\bar{a} = \frac{Krantijy\,\bar{a}}{R \sin(24)} = 1131'.5''$ as compared to $1131'4''$ as stated by Bhāskara.

From this we have $\lambda = \sin^{-1} \frac{1131/5}{3438} = 19^\circ 12'56''$ as compared to the same $19^\circ 12'56''$ of Bhaskara.

The above demonstrations illustrate Bhaskara's effective use of algebra to solve problems dealing with Grahagaṇita.

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NĪLAKAṆṬHA CATURDHARA AND APPAYYA'S BHĀRATASĀRASAṄGRAHASTOTRA[1]

CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI

Introduction

Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, was a Deccanī Brahmin who lived in Banaras in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.[2] His *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* (*BhBhD*) is remembered as a nondualist interpretation of the great epic that is more programmatic than the interpretations of earlier epic commentators.[3] The commentary appeared during a period when Sanskrit authors promoting committed philosophical or theological stand points offered partisan explanations of the great monuments of the Brahminical Sanskrit tradition, especially the two Itihāsas.[4] The purpose of this article is to examine an aspect of the intellectual and literary setting in which Nīlakaṇṭha wrote the *BhBhD*. In particular, its purpose is to

1 I felicitate the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute on its seventieth anniversary, humbly offering this study of a northern scholar's debt to a great Tamilian śāstrī.

2 P.K. Gode, 'Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata - his Geneaology and Descendants' *ABORI*, 23 (1942),146-61.

3 See C. Minkowski, 'On the Success of Nīlakaṇṭha's Mahābhārata Commentary,' in ed. F. Squarcini, *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia* (Florence:Firenze University Press, 2005), pp. 225-52. C. Minkowski, 'The Meaning and Design of the Mahābhārata in Nīlakaṇṭha's Commentary,' in eds. F. Grimal and C. Vielle, *Proceedings of the Pondicherry Conference on Commentary*, (*forthcoming*).

4 R. P. Goldman, 1992. 'Translating Texts Translating Texts: Issues in the Translation of Popular Literary Texts with Multiple Commentaries,' in ed. C. Moore, *Translation East and West* (Honolulu: East West Center and University of Hawaii), pp. 93-105.

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consider the extent to which his commentary is a reaction to the *Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita.[5]

Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra

It appears that Appayya wrote the *Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra* (*Bhsss*) during the early part of his career, when he produced a number of partisan works that advocated Śaiva views.[6] In the *Bhsss* Appayya refers to another of his works, the *Brahmatarkastava*, whose Śaiva arguments it extends and applies more thoroughly to the *Mahābhārata*.[7] The *Bhsss* takes the form of a stotra in twenty verses in praise of Śiva, together with an autocommentary. In the *Bhsss* Appayya maintains that the epic's intention is to teach the nondualism of Śiva.[8] Being a good poetic work, the *Mahābhārata* accomplishes this aim not by asserting the point directly but by suggesting it indirectly. Despite the obvious prominence of Kṛṣṇa in the plot of the epic, Appayya argues, despite the homage to Nārāyaṇa with which it begins, and the showing forth of Kṛṣṇa as the incarnation of the highest God in the age of heroes, under the surface of the text it is Śiva who is the parabrahman.[9]

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5 There are six known editions of this text. Citations from the *Bhsss* refer to the 1929 edition of the Vāṇīvilāsa Press, Srirangam, where it appeared under the title *Bhāratatātparyasamgraha*.

6 See J. Duquette, 'On the reception of Rāmānuja's school in Śivādvaita Vedānta,' in eds. E. Freschi, M. Schmucker, L. McCrea, *One God, One Śāstra*, (forthcoming). On the *Bhsss* see the collective volume, *Appayya's Summary of the Mahābhārata's Meaning* (*Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra*), ed. C. Minkowski, to be published online in the Oxford Research Archive.

7 References to the *Brahmatarkastava* are based on R. Krishnaswami Sastri's 1927 edition in the Vāṇīvilāsa Press, Srirangam.

8 This description of the *Bhsss* closely follows C. Minkowski, 'Outlandishness in Sanskrit Commentary,' in eds. Gerard Colas and Emilie Aussant, *Scholasticism's Practice and Practice's Scholasticism*, Publications of the Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient, (forthcoming).

9 See the passage of the *Bhsss* cited in note 15 below.

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Appayya draws on short passages of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa* to make his point. Some of the passages that Appayya uses had appeared in the work of earlier Śaiva authors, who made similar arguments in a lineage stretching back to the tenth century Kashmirian, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.[10] But Appayya introduces epic verses of his own choosing as well, and handles them in unexpected ways. The most striking of these is his treatment of *Bhagavadgītā* 15.4.[11]

Tataḥ padam tat parimārgitavyaṃ yasmin gatā na nivartanti bhūyaḥ,
tam eva cādyaṃ puruṣaṃ prapadye yataḥ pravṛttiḥ prasṛtā purāṇī .

Before Appayya, the smārta tradition following Śaṅkara had understood the third pāda of this verse to be the recommended inner attitude of the worshipper, marked off with an unexpressed *iti.* That is, the verse teaches one to seek that state from which there is no return to conditioned existence while thinking, 'I take refuge in just that primordial person.' The Śrīvaiṣṇava commentators follow a variant here that supports this meaning. They read a third person verb, *prapadyet*, which they understand as an ārṣa form for *prapadyeta.* The 'Kashmiri recension' of the *Bhagavadgītā* (*Gītā*) follows this variant as well. The smārta tradition and the preponderance of the manuscripts recorded in the BORI edition read *prapadye.* Appayya reads *prapadye*, but understands this pāda to introduce a new main clause. It is Kṛṣṇa who speaks in the first person here, saying that even he worships the primordial person, which is to say Śiva.[12]

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10 See A. Venkatakrishnan, 'The *Bhāratasārasaṅgrahastotra* In Context,' in *Appayya Dīkṣita's Summary of the Meaning*, (forthcoming). He cites A. Sanderson, 'Tolerance, Exclusivity, Inclusivity, and Persecution in Indian Religion During the Early Medieval Period,' in ed. J. Makinson, *In Honoris Causa: Essays in Honour of Aveek Sarkar* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), p.174.

11 *M.Bh.* 6.37.4. Citations of the *MBh* refer to the BORI edition.

12 *tam eva mayā śaraṇīkṛtam īśvaram tvam api śaraṇaṃ bhaja ity eva. Bhsss* comm. on vss. 11-12.

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Why suppose the term *puruṣa* refers to Śiva and not to Viṣṇu or to some other deity? Appayya cites *Gītā* 15.17 and 8.61-62.[13] In the former, he argues, *Īśvara* and *puruṣa* are used in apposition (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*).[14] In the latter, taking refuge in *Īśvaraḥ* is shown to offer the same result (*ekaphala*) that *Gītā* 15.4 offers for taking refuge in *taṃ puruṣaṃ.*[15] Appayya concludes that if even Kṛṣṇa calls himself a worshipper of Śiva, what is suggested here is that Śiva is the ultimate.[16]

Did Nīlakaṇṭha know the *Bhāratasārasaṃgrahastotra* ?

To what extent was Nīlakaṇṭha aware of Appayya's *Bhsss*, and influenced by it, in writing his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*? That he knew Appayya's text is clear for two reasons, a general one and a specific one. In general it can be shown that Nīlakaṇṭha devoted considerable attention to Appayya. He is notable among Advaitins in the generation following Appayya for taking exception to some of the south Indian polymath's innovative ideas. Nīlakaṇṭha wrote a work, the *Vedāntakataka*, that is explicitly directed against certain arguments of Appayya's *Śāstrasiddhāntaleśasamgraha* and *Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi.*[17] He wrote two other works that more obliquely respond to two of Appayya's

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13 *uttamaḥ puruṣas tv anyaḥ paramātmety udāhṛtaḥ, yo lokatrayam āviśya bibharty avyaya īśvaraḥ. Mbh* 6.37.17. *īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ hṛddeśe arjuna tiṣṭhati, bhrāmayan sarvabhūtāni yantrārūḍhāni māyayā. tam eva śaraṇaṃ gaccha sarvabhāvena bhārata, tatprasādāt parāṃ śāntiṃ sthānaṃ yāsyasi śāśvatam.* 6.40. 61-62

14 *iti prājña puruṣa ity uktaḥ, sarvasya prapadanīya iti uktam api pratīyate .... evaṃ tāvat kṛṣṇena gītāsu niratiśayamahimaśālitayoktasya svasyāpi prapadanīyatvena varṇitaḥ. Bhsss* comm. on vss. 11-12.

15 *iti ekaphalopadeśāt, 'uttamaḥ puruṣas tv anyaḥ' iti śloke samānādhikaraṇayoḥ śabdayor ekatra puruṣaśabdaḥ anyatreśvaraśabdaḥ ity anayor aikārthyapratīteś ca. ibid.*

16 *īśvaranāmnā puruṣāntarasparśarahitena dhiyā mānitaḥ śiva eva paraṃ brahmeti vivakṣita iti pratīyate. ibid.*

17 C. Minkowski, 'Appayya's Vedānta and Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vedāntakataka*,' *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 44.1 (2016) 95-114.

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Śivādvaita essays, the *Śivādvaitanirṇaya* and the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣāvyākhyā*. Nīlakaṇṭha's works obviously borrow their titles from those of Appayya, but they do not explicitly refer to them or cite them. They state contrary views, however, on some of the themes that Appayya raises in those two texts.[18]

The specific reason to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha knew the *Bhsss* is shown most clearly in his comments in the *BhBhD* on *Gītā* 15.4, the verse that was cited above. Nīlakaṇṭha begins his comment on the third pāda of this verse with an explanation that follows Śaṅkara:

tameva pratyagānandam ādyam puruṣam puri śarīre prapadye śaraṇāgato' smīti bhāvayet.[19]

Making use of the *nirvacana* – derivation of *puruṣa* as the one residing within the body, Nīlakaṇṭha understands the term to refer to the inner bliss. *prapadye* is taken to express the attitude that an aspirant should cultivate. What follows in the *BhBhD*, however, is a remark that is unprecedented in *Gītā* commentaries, so far as I have been able to find:

bhagavata eva vā idaṃ vacanaṃ, lokaśikṣārthaṃ 'varta eva ca karmaṇī' tivat.[20]

Nīlakaṇṭha proposes an alternative interpretation, that we take Kṛṣṇa as the subject of the first person verb in this *pāda*, *prapadye*. That is, we should understand this pāda to be a statement of Kṛṣṇa's, who

18 See C. Minkowski, 'Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's Advaita Vedānta,' in ed. J. Ganeri, *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

19 *BhBhD* on *Gītā*, 15.4. Citations of the *BhBhD* refer to the Chitrashala Press edition of R. Kimjāvaḍekar, 1929-36. I have marked in bold the words in the comment that appear in the *mūla*.

20 *ibid.*

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says that he takes refuge in the primordial Puruṣa. It seems clear that Nīlakaṇṭha is recording Appayya's idea as an alternative suggestion for how to read the third pāda of this verse. He does not, however, accept the implication that Appayya drew from this proposed approach, that Kṛṣṇa is shown to be a worshipper of Śiva. Instead, Nīlakaṇṭha understands this statement by Kṛṣṇa to accord with *Gītā* 3.22, where Kṛṣṇa says that he continues to behave according to the social norm for the sake of instructing the world.[21]

It should be noted that Appayya had already made use of *Gītā* 15.4, 15.17, and 18.61 to make this argument in his *Brahmatarkastava* (*BTS*), his earlier Śaiva work.[22] The *BTS* has a similar purpose to the *Bhsss*, but with a wider scope, arguing that all śruti, smṛti, and āgamic literature teach thse ultimacy of Śiva as *brahman*. The *BTS* touches on the *MBh* in only 10 of its 52 verses, and foreshadows some of the arguments that appear in the *Bhsss*.[23] It is possible that Nīlakaṇṭha drew the argument about *prapadye* from the *BTS*, not from the *Bhsss*. We will consider both together here, as the two works by Appayya supplement each other.

Was Nīlakaṇṭha influenced by the Bhsss?

The previous section demonstrates that Nīlakaṇṭha must have known either the *Bhsss* or the *BTS* or both. It remains to determine whether the thrust of his commentary on the *Mahābhārata* was influenced

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21 *na me pārthāsti kartavyaṃ triṣu lokeṣu kiṃcana, nānavāptam avāptavyam varta eva ca karmaṇi. MBh* (6.25.22).

22 '*tam eva cādyaṃ puruṣaṃ prapadye yataḥ pravṛttiḥ prasṛtā purāṇī*' (15.4) *iti bhagavatā yat svenāpi kriyamāṇam Īśvaraprapadanaṃ tadviṣayam eva. tat katham avagamyate? 'tam eva cādyam' ity atra kaṃ puruṣaṃ prapadya ity ākāṅkṣāyām 'uttamaḥ puruṣas tv anyaḥ paramātmety udāhṛtaḥ, yo lokatrayam āviśya bibharty avyaya Īśvaraḥ' (15.17) iti svaprapadanīye puruṣe śivāsādharaṇasyeśvaranāmnaḥ prayogāt, tasyaiva 'Īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānām'* (18.61) *ity atrāpi śravaṇāt. (BTS* under vs.13).

23 *BTS* vss. 4-13.

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by Appayya's treatment of the epic. Let us briefly consider three features of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary, his introductions to narrative units, his treatment of particular verses that feature in Appayya's two texts, and his opening statement about partisan readings of Brahminical literature.

Narrative units

Appayya makes his case for the primacy of Śiva in the *Mahābhārata* in part by appealing to episodes of the epic that show Kṛṣṇa propitiating Śiva or being granted boons by him, as mentioned for example in the *tīrthayātrā* section of the Vanaparvan (3.82.16-18) or in the Sauptikaparvan (10.7.60-63). He especially features the end of the Droṇaparvan, where Aśvatthāman is told how Kṛṣṇa received special powers from Śiva as a result of his worship and propitiation of the great Lord (7.172.52-90).

It is well known that Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Droṇaparvan is very scanty, but comes to life for the last two chapters of the parvan, where this episode about Śiva and Kṛṣṇa is related.[24] Indeed, as he does elsewhere, Nīlakaṇṭha introduces these chapters with explanations of how they fit into the larger meaning of the epic as he conceives it.[25] These introductions do seem influenced by a Śaiva reading of the epic. In the first, he cites a version of the Purāṇic verse that portrays Viṣṇu as consisting of Śiva, while the world consists of Viṣṇu. While the previous two chapters have shown how the world is made from Viṣṇu, explains Nīlakaṇṭha, the present chapter shows how Viṣṇu is made of Śiva.[26]

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24 Another of the very few places where Nīlakaṇṭha offers anything more than the occsional gloss of a word in the Droṇaparvan appears at 7.57, (7.80 in the Chitrashala edition), where Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna worship Śiva and Arjuna receives the Pāśupatāstra from him. Appayya cites this passage as well in the *Bhsss,* under vs. 4.

25 See Minkowski, 'Meaning and Design' for a description.

26 '*yathā śivamayo Viṣṇurevam Viṣṇuumayam jagad' iti smṛtau dārṣṭāntikam jagato Viṣṇumayatvam pūrvayoḥ parvaṇor viṣṇor viśvarūpaprakāśanena vyākhyātam. atha dṛṣṭāntikṛtam viṣṇoḥ śivamayatvam vyācikhyāsuḥ śatarudriyam ārabhate. BhBhD* at beginning of 7.201 (=7.172 CE).

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Nīlakaṇṭha introduces the next chapter, the last of the Droṇaparvan, by saying that it shows how Viṣṇu's saving the world is really Śiva's doing.[27] On the other hand, Nīlakaṇṭha does not comment on some other episodes that particularly interest Appayya, such as those in the Sauptikaparvan and Vanaparvan that were mentioned above.

Particular verses

Appayya cites about a hundred verses from the *Mahābhārata* in the *Bhsss*, and a handful from the *Harivamśa*.[28] Many of these are used to present the episodes just discussed, along with other episodes. Some verses are cited for their exact wording, however, and are analyzed more closely. The verses from the *Gītā* and the *Anugīta* discussed above fall into this category. As we have seen, Nīlakaṇṭha did make a point of picking up Appayya's unusual rendering of *Gītā* 15.4. Elsewhere he does not take Appayya's intricate readings very much to heart, but we may look at another example where he seems to have it in mind.

1.1.66, a verse in the Ādiparvan, forms a well-known pair with 1.1.65. The pair constitutes a description of two metaphorical trees, Duryodhana being one, Yudhiṣṭhira the other, their branches, flowers, and fruits consisting of their brothers and close allies.[29] The final *pāda* identifies the root of Yudhiṣṭhira's tree (*mūlam kṛṣṇo brahma ca brāhmaṇāś ca.*) Appayya wants to take the term *brahma* in this verse as a reference to

27 *tad evam Viṣṇoḥ śivamayatvam vyākhyāya Viṣṇutrāṇāt tanmayasya jagatas trāṇam api śaivam eva karmetyuktam. 'tasmin' ity ata ārabhya parvasamāptiparyantasya granthasya tātparyam api bhūbhārāvatārahetur api śiva eveti. BhBhD* at beginning of 7.202 (= 7.173 CE)

28 See Vishal Sharma, 'Appayya's Quintessentially Southern Mahābhārata,' in *Appayya's Summary of the Meaning*, as well as the list of vss in that same volume.

29 Yudhiṣṭhiro dharmamayo mahādrumaḥ, skandho arjuno bhīmaseno' sya śākhāḥ; mādrīsutau puṣpaphale samṛddhe, mūlam Kṛṣṇo brahma ca brīhmaṇāś ca. *MBh* 1.1.66.

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Śiva, the ultimate, over against Kṛṣṇa who is mentioned separately.[30] He rules out the meanings that might be sanctioned by the *Amarakoṣa* – the Veda, a Brahmin, or tapas – because these are insentient, and do not fit the context.[31]

Nīlakaṇṭha, meanwhile, takes *brahma* in this passage to refer to the Veda, in the more expected way.[32] On the other hand, he notices that these two verses offer a summary of the meaning of the *Mahābhārata* as a whole (*bhāratatātparyasamgrāhakau*). His wording is reminiscent of the title of Appayya's work, and perhaps this is not an accident.[33]

Overall one could say that in those verses that Appayya uses in order to emphasize a certain relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu as distinct entities, Nīlakaṇṭha understands the terms in play to refer to elements of his Advaitin metaphysical scheme. As we saw above, Appayya takes *Gītā* 18.61 to show that one should take refuge in the *Īśvara*, who is shown to be the deity śiva, because of the ultimate result this refuge-taking affords. Nīlakaṇṭha, on the other hand, takes the term *Īśvara* to refer to the inner controller (*antaryāmin*), who resides in the hearts of all creatures and animates and impels them.[34] There is no reason to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha is pushing back against Appayya in particular here, however. As he often does elsewhere, Nīlakaṇṭha takes the names of deities and words for 'deity' to be terms of convenience for the soul (*jīva*) or the Lord (*Īśvara*), both of

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30 Ataḥ śiva eva tatra brahmapadenokto *jñāyate. Bhsss* under vs. 6 So also *BTS* under vs.4, 'brahmaca mūlam' iti vyapadiśan bhagavān vyāsaḥ śivaḥ param brahmeti prakaṭīcakārety arthaḥ.

31 *Amarakoṣa* 2563, *vedas tattvam tapo brahma brahmā vipraḥ prajāpatiḥ.*

32 *Jñānasya mūlam brahma devaḥ. Vedāddhi yogakratvākhyaparāparadharmajñānam jāyte. BhBhD* on 1.1.111.

33 *Idānīm bhāratatātparyasamgrāhakau dvau ślokau paṭhati. BhBhD* on 1.1.110.

34 *Īśvara Īśanaśīlo antaryāmī pṛthivyādīnām asmākam ca sarvabhūtānām sarvaprāṇinām hṛddeśe buddhiguhāyām sarvaprāṇipravartakas tiṣṭhati. BhBhD* on 6.42.61.

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which are forms of brahman as it has been coloured by *avidyā* or *māyā*, or of the causal (*kāraṇa*) brahman or its effect (*kārya*).

Nīlakaṇṭha and sectarian partisanship

To sum up, Nīlakaṇṭha is in general less concerned in his commentary with Appayya's innovative suggestions concerning particular verses, while he does take notice of the general argument for a Śaiva reading. This argument is not unique to Appayya. Elements of it had been used by earlier authors, as mentioned earlier.[35] That Nīlakaṇṭha had little patience for readings of the *Mahābhārata* that were partisan to sāmpradāyika sectarian viewpoints is made abundantly clear in a statement that Nīlakaṇṭha appends to 1.1.21.[36] This constitutes something of an independent essay on the state of theology in Nīlakaṇṭha's day, and its relationship to the Vedānta. A section of this statement is devoted to discussing Appayya, who is not mentioned by name, but whose views have been treated at length in Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vedāntakataka*, a text from which he cites.[37] It is only as he introduces a new section that he brings up the topic of sectarian partisanship. Here are some portions of Nīlakaṇṭha's rather lengthy exposition.[38]

Some people, unaware of the tradition that has been passed down, as described above, of a practice of meditation that brings the mind to an unmanifest state, think that liberation means attaining this heavenly world, whose Lord is the only deity, and that there is no other, more abstract Lord

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35 See note 10 above.

36 *asac ca sac caiva ca yad viśvam sadasataḥ param, parāvarāṇām sraṣṭāram purāṇam param avyayam*. Nīlakaṇṭha's text (1.1.23) *reads asac ca sadasac caiva yad viśvam sadasatparam, parāvarāṇām etc.*

37 See Minkowski, 'Appayya's Vedānta and Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vedāntakataka*.' In this passage Nīlakaṇṭha uses versions of verses 21, 22, 23, and 18 from a versified passage of exposition that appears under *Vedāntakataka*, part 1, verse 16, as verses 2, 3, 6, and 7. Other verses from this passage appear in *BhBhD* on *Gītā* 18.77.

38 An earlier version of this passage appeared in C. Minkowski, 'Nīlakaṇṭha's *Mahābhārata*,' *Seminar* 608 (2010) 32-38.

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as the collective soul. In doing so they reject the view established by all of the śāstras, that there is no experience of duality of any kind in the state of liberation...[39]

The obstinate claims of worshippers that Viṣṇu is the Lord (*Īśvara*) while Śiva is the individual soul (*jīva*), or vice versa, and their mutual criticism of the (Vaiṣṇava) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* or of the (Śaiva) *Sūtasamhitā* as forgeries or products of demons, relying on statements of these texts, which they say propound a hierarchy of Viṣṇu and other deities, these result from not understanding the customary parameters of śāstric interpretation.[40]

According to the principle of contingent utility, one simply relies on whatever form is expedient to enable the divine to descend into the mind, there ultimately being unity among these deities. As for the mutual defamation of the texts and followers of the other that one finds in passages of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava purāṇas, that is not there to serve as defamation of something that deserves to be defamed. It is there, rather, to praise what it is that ought positively to be done (*vidheya*)...[41]

Those base, vulgar Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva partisans do not understand the language of variety used in the Purāṇas. They are unaware of the Vedic statements about non-difference which point out the fault that lies in seeing difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu and that are described in the smṛti

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39 *kecittu pūrvoktamanaḥ praṇidhānātmakadhyānasampradāyānabhijñāḥ 'etallokaprāptir eva muktir,' 'ayam eveśvaro,' 'na samaṣṭyākhyo 'nya' īśvaro stī'ti vadanti. te sarvaśāstraprasiddham muktau dvaitādarśanam bādhamānāḥ...* *BhBhD* on 1.1.23.

40 *'viṣṇuḥ sarvottamaḥ śivo jīvaḥ,' 'śivaḥ sarvottamo viṣṇur jīvaḥ' iti upāsakānām āgraho anārṣatvāsurat-viṣṇvādyutkramapratipādaka-śrībhāgavatasūtasamhitādīnām vādivacanair dūṣaṇam ca śāstramaryādānavabodhamūlam eva. ibid.*

41 *vikalpo viśiṣṭaphalatvādinyāyena aikātmye cittāvatārārtham yasya kasya cid api ākārasyālambanīyatvāt. yat tu śaivavaiṣṇavapurāṇeṣu itaranindāsmaraṇam tan na nindā nindyam ninditum pravartate, api tu vidheyam stotum iti nyāyena vidheyastutyartham. ibid.*

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literature as follows, 'Those who have been misled by religious imposters are bewildered by the impression of difference when they see Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa and Rudra, and do not see them as one'. They do not know the truth of the śāstra that the one root cause is to be distinguished from the final effects it produces, just as an actor only appears to be different characters. And accepting only one or other of the forms of God they criticize each other, making a great mutual ruckus, and hence as a result of the injury they do to their masters they are readying themselves only for hell.[42]

This spirited attack seems to be aimed at those who are not nondualists, especially siddhāntic tāntrikas and followers of purāṇic sampradāyas. In Appayya's early works, such as the *Brahmatarkastava* and the *Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra*, he mounts a distinctly partisan argument in favour of Śiva's superiority to Viṣṇu. He does not,however, characterize the Vaiṣṇava purāṇas as anārṣa or as āsura. Even while making his partisan argument, in places he reverts to an ultimate nondualism of deities, as if floating above the very partisanship he is engaging in. To conclude, Nīlakaṇṭha certainly knew of Appayya's works on the *Mahābhārata*. There was, furthermore, some influence from those works on Nīlakaṇṭha's understanding of the role of Śiva in the nondualist meaning he was arguing for in his *BhBhD*. While Nīlakaṇṭha was reacting to partisan readings of the epic, including Appayya's, in composing his commentary, he did not single Appayya's partisan works for special denunciation.

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42 *tam imam paurāṇam bhāṣābhedam ajānantaḥ pāmarāḥ śaivavaiṣṇavāpasadā 'brahmāṇam keśava rudram bhedabhāvena mohitāḥ, paśyanti ekam na jānanti pākhaṇḍopahatā janā' iti tatraiva smaryamāṇam śivaviṣṇvor bhedadarśane doṣam udāhṛtyābhedaśrutīś cāpaśyanto mūlakāraṇam evāntyāt kāryān naṭa iva tattadrūpeṇa bhāsata iti śāstratattvam ajānanto, nyatararūpaparigraheṇetaram nindantaḥ parasparakalahāyamāṇāḥ svāmidrohān narakāyaiva sajjante. ibid*

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BLINDNESS - ITS CAUSE AND CURE ACCORDING TO AṢṬĀṄGAHṚDAYA

E.R.RAMA BAI

The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa deals with the different diseases related to eyes and their treatment in nine chapters under the section called Śālākhya of the Uttarasthāna division of the text. While the first four chapters deal with the diseases and treatment of eye-lids (*vartma*), fornices (*sandhi*), Sclera (*sita*) and cornea (*kṛṣṇa*), the last five talk about the various diseases including blindness and their treatment. The last five chapters fall under the two broad heads as related to *dṛṣṭi* (vision) and *sarvamakṣi* (the whole eye). I shall deal with the causes and cure of blindness as elaborated in these five chapters.

Types of Blindness :

Among the human organs, eye is the most important organ and the most delicate. By nature, the eye is always protected; but inspite of that sometimes it gets afflicted by factors like heat and cold, *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha* and these if neglected or not properly treated would finally lead to blindness or *timira*. This blindness is caused by the affliction of the optic nerves i.e. *kaca* or by the formation of a film or coating over the eyes, i.e. *paṭala*.

According to *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, there are four stages of blindness. In the first stage, the person with defect in the veins in the first layer, will have a blured vision, i.e. *avyaktadṛṣṭi* (Uttarasthāna. XII.1):

सिरानुसारिणि मले प्रथमं पटलं श्रिते ।
अव्यक्तमीक्षते रूपं व्यक्तमप्यनिमित्ततः ।।

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In the second stage, the defect is found in the second *paṭala;* at this stage the person sees with great strain; he can see the objects nearby but not the minute objects at a distance and (i.e. short sight); some times the objects nearby would appear as though lying at a distance and vice versa (XII.2-3ab):

प्राप्ते द्वितीयं पटलमभूतमपि पश्यति ।
भूतं तु यत्नादासन्नं दूरे सूक्ष्मं च नेक्षते ।।
दूरान्तिकस्थं रूपं च विपर्यासेन मन्यते ।

Again, the objects would appear as circular in this second stage when the *doṣa* stays in a circular form (XII.3cd):

दोषे मण्डलसंस्थाने मण्डलानीव पश्यति ।।

Sometimes, because of the *doṣa* in the centre of the eye, single object would appear as double; if the defect is manifold, single object would appear as manifold; if the defect is internal, short object would appear as big and vice versa (XII.4):

द्विधैकं दृष्टिमध्यस्थे बहुधा बहुधा स्थिते ।
दृष्टेरभ्यन्तरगते ह्रस्ववृद्धविपर्ययम् ।।

If the defect is at the lower portion, then the person cannot see the objects nearby; if it is in the upper portion, the person cannot see the objects at a distance; if the defect lies on one side of the eye, he cannot see the objects at the sides (XII.5):

नान्तिकस्थमधः संस्थे दूरगं नोपरि स्थिते ।
पार्श्वे पश्येन्न पार्श्वस्थे तिमिराख्योऽयमामयः ।।

All these defects of the first and second stage go by the name *timira* (early cataract).

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In the third stage the eye gets *kācattva* (mild cataract). In this stage if neglected, the eye will slowly lose its power of vision. By this *kācatva*, a person sees only objects above and not those below. At this stage they see the objects as though they are covered by thin cloth. The power of vision gets the colour related to the *doṣa* and there is gradual loss of vision (XII.6-7ab) :

प्राप्नोति काचतां दोषे तृतीयपटलाश्रिते ।
तेनोर्ध्वमीक्षते नाधस्तनुचैलावृतोपमम् ॥
यथा वर्णं च रज्येत दृष्टिर्हीयेत च क्रमात् ।

When the eye is neglected in this stage, it will lead to the fourth stage and the vision would be completely obstructed and is known as *liṅganāśa* (cataract) (XII.7cd-8ab) :

तथाऽप्युपेक्षमाणस्य चतुर्थे पटलं गतः ॥
लिङ्गनाशं मलः कुर्वन् छादयेद्दृष्टिमण्डलम् ।

Thus blindness caused by cataract is broadly classified into three as *timira* which occurs in the first two *paṭalas* of the eye, *kāca* in the third *paṭala* and *liṅganāśana* in the fourth *paṭala.*

Also *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* records that *timira* when neglected leads to *kāca* and the neglected *kāca* results in *liṅganāśana* (XIII.1) :

तिमिरं काचतां याति काचोऽप्यान्ध्यमुपेक्षया ।
नेत्ररोगेष्वतो घोरं तिमिरं साधयेद् द्रुतम् ॥

These three types of eye blindness are further divided into three varieties of each when the vision is affected by the three *doṣas* - *vāta, pitta* and *kapha.*

In the first case *vātatimira* (XII.8cd-9ab), when the eye gets affected by *vāta*, the vision will be sometimes obscured and unsteady and some times very clear and pleasant:

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तत्र वातेन तिमिरे व्याविद्धमिव पश्यति ।।
चलाविलारुणाभासं प्रसन्नं चेक्षते मुहुः ।

If neglected this develops into *kāca* when the eye sees the face as without nose, feels the moon light and others as manifold, curved items are seen straight (XII.10):

काचीभूते दृगरुणा पश्यत्यास्यमनासिकम् ।
चन्द्रदीपाद्यनेकत्वं वक्रमृज्वपि मन्यते ।।

When the *kāca* is grown much, the vision will become blurred as though covered with smoke or dust indicating *liṅganāśana* (XII.11-12a):

वृद्धः काचो दृशं कुर्याद्रजोधूमावृतामिव ।
स्पष्टारुणाभां विस्तीर्णां सूक्ष्मां वा हतदर्शनाम् ।।
स लिङ्गनाशो

When afflicted by *vāta*, the *dṛkśira* i.e. eye veins would get contracted and give rise to the defect called *gambhīra* (XII.12bcd) :

वाते तु सङ्कोचयति दृक्सिराः ।
दृग्मण्डलं विशत्यन्तर्गम्भीरा दृगसौ स्मृता ।।

When the vision is affected by *pitta* (*pittatimira*), the eye sees objects illuminated by light, objects resembling the wings of peacock and *tittiri* birds and generally the dark objects (XII. 13):

पित्तजे तिमिरे विद्युत्खद्योतद्योतदीपितम् ।
शिखितित्तिरिपत्राभं प्रायो नीलं च पश्यति ।।

At the *kāca* level, the vision organ is like blue-glass in colour; it also sees sun, moon, fire, mirage and rainbow (XII.14):

काचे दृक् काचनीलाभा तादृगेव च पश्यति ।
अर्केन्दुपरिवेषाग्निमरीचीन्द्रधनूंषि च ।।

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The eye of the patient with *liṅganāśa* will become dark like that of a bee and loses its power of vision. Objects will be seen in shorter size, hence such a *liṅganāśa* vision is called *hrasvā*. At this stage if the vision is yellow and objects are seen as yellowish, it is known as *pitta-vidagdha-dṛṣṭi* (XII. 15-16 ab) :

भृङ्गनीला निरालोका दृक् स्निग्धा लिङ्गनाशतः ।
दृष्टिः पित्तेन ह्रस्वाख्या सा ह्रस्वा ह्रस्वदर्शिनी ।।
भवेत्पित्तविदग्धाख्या पीता पीताभदर्शना ।

When the eye is affected by *kapha* (phlegm), in the *timira* stage, it sees all the objects as glossy and white but covered with reddish tinge (*kumuda* petals) (XII. 16cd-17ab):

कफेन तिमिरे प्रायः स्निग्धं श्वेतं च पश्यति ।।
शङ्खेन्दुकुन्दकुसुमैः कुमुदैरिव चाचितम् ।

In *kāca* condition, sun, moon and lamps appear dull and without radiance (XII. 17cd-18ab):

काचे तु निष्प्रभेन्द्वर्कप्रदीपाद्यैरिवाचितम् ।।
सिताभा सा च दृष्टिः स्याल्लिङ्गनाशे तु लक्ष्यते ।

In *liṅganāśa*, the organ of vision itself is white and all objects seen appear as white. The solidified *kapha* damages the vision and the vision is like a water drop moving on a lotus leaf. In such case, the vision will shrink in the light and expand in the shade (XII. 18cd-19):

मूर्तः कफो दृष्टिगतः स्निग्धो दर्शननाशनः ।
बिन्दुर्जलस्येव चलः पद्मिनीपुटसंस्थितः ।
उष्णे सङ्कोचमायाति छायायां परिसर्पति ।।

When the vision gets affected by blood, at the *timira* stage, the eye sees objects as red; in *kāca* stage the eye can see only red or black –

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objects; when the blindness is total the eye would not be bright and can not see anything (XII. 20cd-21):

रक्तेन तिमिरे रक्तं तमोभूतं च पश्यति ।।
काचेन रक्ता कृष्णा वा दृष्टिस्तादृक् च पश्यति ।
लिङ्गनाशेऽपि तादृग् दृङ् निष्प्रभा हतदर्शना ।।

When the eye gets affected by the disease called *nakulāndha* when the organ of vision looks like a *nakula* (mongoose); it could recognise the objects in varied colours only during day and not at night (XII. 23cd-24ab):

द्योत्यते नकुलस्येव यस्य दृङ् निचिता मलैः ।।
नकुलान्धः स तत्राह्नि चित्रं पश्यति नो निशि ।

There is another defect called *doṣāndha* (*doṣas* concealing the vision) wherein a person can see only during day time and the vision gets blurred as the sun sets (XII. 24 cd-26ab):

अर्केऽस्तमस्तकन्यस्तगभस्तौ स्तम्भमागताः ।।
स्थगयन्ति दृशं दोषा दोषान्धः स गदोऽपरः ।
दिवाकरकरस्पृष्टा भ्रष्टा दृष्टिपथान्मलाः ।।
विलीनलीना यच्छन्ति व्यक्तमत्राह्नि दर्शनम् ।

Rātryandha is yet another kind of blindness found during night. This is caused when the body heat gets forced upwards to the eye by the *doṣas* and the blood pressure as a person immerses in cold water after long exposure to heat. Due to this, dustiness of sclera occurs; objects appear dusty during day time and blindness is found during night. This is also known as *uṣṇavidagdhadṛṣṭi* (XII.26cd-28ab):

उष्णतप्तस्य सहसा शीतवारिनिमज्जनात् ।।
त्रिदोषरक्तसंपृक्तो यात्यूष्मोर्ध्वं ततोऽक्षिणि ।
दाहोषे मलिनं शुक्लमहन्याविलदर्शनम् ।।
रात्रावान्ध्यं च जायेत विदग्धोष्णेन सा स्मृता ।

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Excessive indulgence in foods of sour taste aggravate the *doṣas* in the blood which accumulate in the eyes causing moistness, itching and uncleanliness. This is recognised as *Amlavidagdhadṛṣṭi* (Hazy Vision) (XII. 28cd-29 ab):

भृशमम्लाशनाद्दोषैः सास्त्रैर्या दृष्टिराचिता ।।
सक्लेदकण्डूकलुषा विदग्धाऽम्लेन सा स्मृता ।

The vāta and other *doṣas* of a person suffering from agony, fever and diseases of head (brain) etc., make the eyes as filled with smoke and objects seen are blurred . This is called *dhūmararoga* (Hazy Vision) (XII. 29cd-30 ab):

शोकज्वरशिरोरोगसन्तप्तस्यानिलादयः।।
धूमाविलां धूमदृशं कुर्युः स धूमरः ।

Aupasargika-liṅganāśa (secondary blindness) is caused in a person of feeble mind who suddenly sees forms which are bright, highly glittering, sun and such others. The *vāta* and other *doṣas* in his eye cause vision obstructed with a colour of *vaiḍūrya* (cat's eye), motionless and appear as if normal without pain (XII. 30cd-32abc):

सहसैवाल्पसत्वस्य पश्यतो रूपमद्भुतम् ।।
भास्वरं भास्करादिं वा वाताद्या नयनाश्रिताः ।
कुर्वन्ति तेजः संशोष्य दृष्टिं मुषितदर्शनाम् ।।
वैडूर्यवर्णां स्तिमितां प्रकृतिस्थामिवाव्यथाम् ।
औपसर्गिक इत्येष लिङ्गनाशो . . . . . . ।।

Totally thirty types of blindness have been described in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.* There are nine basic varieties of blindness *viz., timira, kāca, liṅganāśana, nakulāndha, doṣāndha, rātryandha, amlavidagdhadṛṣṭi, dhūmara* and *aupasargika-liṅganāśa.* Each of these along with the three *doṣas* make twenty seven varieties. Further, another three problems

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of *timira, kāca, liṅganāśana* caused by blood (*raktaja*) form thirty varieties of eye diseases in all.

Of these *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* mentions that only twenty seven such diseases are curable since *liṅganāśa* caused by *kapha,* the faulty vision caused by *pitta* known as *hrasvā* and the *vāta* created failure of vision called *gambhīra* are not considered for treatment.

Cures for Blindness :

After enumerating different reasons for *timira,* the author of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* prescribes many drugs for internal consumption and ointments for external application, to cure the above mentioned eye diseases. A few such prescriptions are described in this paper.

I. Many *ghṛtas* and *kaṣāyas* are prescribed to cure *timira* caused by many reasons. The author then describes the method of removing the cataract. Finally he gives instructions to diagnose the defects and prevent common eye diseases as given by his predecessors.

(1) Medicines for intake in treatment of *timira* :

(i) *Triphalā-ghṛta* : Eight *palas* of *triphalā* should be boiled in one *āḍhaka* of water till it is reduced to one-fourth of the quantity. This should be mixed with equal amount of milk and half *prastha* of ghee. This should be administered with sugar or honey (*mākṣika*) (XIII. 10cd -11):

त्रिफलाष्टपलं क्वाथ्यं पादशेषं जलाढके ।।
तेन तुल्यपयस्केन त्रिफलापलकल्कवान् ।
अर्धप्रस्थो घृतात्सिद्धः सितया माक्षिकेण वा ।।

The *triphalākvathita* along with ghee (*sarpis*) would cure *timiraroga.* The food mixed with *triphalā* powder also act in the same way.

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(ii) *Pāyasa* made from rice, sugar and milk mixed with *triphalā* (*varā*) along with cold honey or sugar can be taken in the morning. This could be had either with *haritakī* or *mṛdvīka* and *śarkarā* or *kṣaudra* separately. This when taken constantly would control *timira* (XIII. 18cd-19):

पायसं वा वारयुक्तं शीतं समधुशर्करम् ।।
प्रातर्भक्तस्य वा पूर्वमद्यात्पथ्यां पृथक् पृथक् ।
मृद्वीकाशर्कराक्षौद्रैः सततं तिमिरातुरः ।।

Paṭolādighṛta, *Mahātraiphalā-ghṛta*, etc., are also described by the author for the treatment of *timira* and other diseases.

(2) Many *añjanas* which are medicinal ointments for external application to cure *timira* are :

(i) An *añjana* is prepared using 30 parts of *sīsaka* (lead), 5 parts of *gandhāpāṣāṇa* (sulphur), 2 parts each of *śulba* (copper) and *tālaka* (palmyra), one part of *vaṅga* (*trapu*) (tin) and three types of *añjanas* – *kṛṣṇāñjana*, *puṣpāñjana* and *rasāñjana*; all these are put in the *andhamūṣa*, should be heated and treated. But should not be oxidised. When this is applied to the afflicted eye it would remove the *timira* like sun removing darkness (XIII. 31-2) :

चुर्णो विशेषात्तिमिरं भास्करो भास्करो यथा ।
त्रिंशद्भागा भुजङ्गस्य गन्धपाषाणपञ्चकम् ।।
शुल्बतालकयोर्द्वौ द्वौ वङ्गस्यैकोऽञ्जनात्त्रयम् ।
अन्धमूषीकृतं ध्मातं पक्वं विमलमञ्जनम् ।।
तिमिरान्तकरं लोके द्वितीय इव भास्करः ।

(ii) The *tuttha* when heated many times in *gomūtra, chagaṇarasa, amlakāñjika, strīstanya, havis, viṣa and mākṣika* would strengthen the vision when applied; the vision become very sharp like that of an eagle (XIII.33) :

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गोमूत्रे छगणरसेऽम्लकाञ्जिके च
स्त्रीस्तन्ये हविषि विषे च माक्षिके च ।
यत्तुत्थं ज्वलितमनेकशो निषिक्तं
तत्कुर्याद्गरुडसमं नरस्य चक्षुः ॥

(iii) The author describes that a *śalāka* (thin rod or needle) of *sīsa* when heated again and again in the *triphala-kaṣāya, bhṛṅgarasa, saviṣājya, ajā-payaḥ and yaṣṭirasa* (seven times boiled) and applied to the eye with or without *añjana* would cure the *timira*. This is called *dṛṣṭiśalākā* (XIII.34-35ab) :

श्रेष्ठाजलं भृङ्गरसं सविषाज्यमजापयः ।
यष्टीरसं च यत्सीसं सप्तकृत्वः पृथक् पृथक् ॥
तप्तं तप्तं पायितं तच्छलाका नेत्रे युक्ता साञ्जनाऽनञ्जना वा ।

(iv) Equal quantity of mercury and lead mixed with *añjana* (sulphide of lead) and a little quantity of camphor are treated chemically to make a paste. This collyrium when applied would remove blindness (XIII.36) :

रसेन्द्रभुजगौ तुल्यौ तयोस्तुल्यमथाञ्जनम् ।
ईषत्कर्पूरसंयुक्तमञ्जनं तिमिरापहम् ॥

(v) A dead (black) cobra, along with four scorpions are put inside a pot of milk and soaked for three weeks and then churned. The butter removed out of it is to be administered as food to a cock. The *purīṣa* (excreta) of that cock collected and powdered, when applied is capable of curing *timira*. This application restores vision even in a blind person (XIII. 39-40) :

कृष्णसर्पं मृतं न्यस्य चतुरश्चापि वृश्चिकान् ।
क्षीरकुम्भे त्रिसप्ताहं क्लेदयित्वा प्रमन्थयेत् ॥

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तत्र यन्नवनीतं स्यात्पुष्णीयात्तेन कुक्कुटम् ।
अन्धस्तस्य पुरीषेण प्रेक्षते ध्रुवमञ्जनात् ।।

(vi) The blindness will be removed (cured) if the chemical combination of the fat of a black cobra, conch, clearing nut and *añjana* is applied to the eyes (XIII. 41) :

कृष्णसर्पवसा शङ्खः कतकात् फलमञ्जनम् ।
रसक्रियेयमचिरादन्धानां दर्शनप्रदा ।।

(vii) The paste (*añjana*) formed out of precious stones (gems), silver, crystal, gold, *srotoñjana*, copper, conch, *raktacandana* and *kumkuma* (or china clay) applied to the eyes will cure all diseases pertaining to the eyes (XIII. 45) :

रत्नानि रूप्यं स्फटिकं सुवर्णं स्रोतोञ्जनं ताम्रमयः सशङ्खम् ।
कुचन्दनं लोहितगैरिकं च चूर्णाञ्जनं सर्वदृगामयघ्नम् ।।

II. Medicines for *timira* specifically caused by *vāta, pitta* and *kapha* (sample of each is presented here):

(i) For the *timira* afflicted by *vāta*, the *ghṛta* mixed with decoction of *daśamūla*, along with four times the quantity of milk mixed with the paste of *śreṣṭhākalka* should be taken by patients. Then purgation is to be given with the decoction of *triphalā* and *pañcamūla* (*kvātha*) mixed with milk and castor oil (XIII.49-50):

वातजे तिमिरे तत्र दशमूलाम्भसा घृतम् ।
क्षीरे चतुर्गुणे श्रेष्ठाकल्कपक्वं पिबेत्ततः ।।
त्रिफलापञ्चमूलानां कषायं क्षीरसंयुतम् ।
एरण्डतैलसंयुक्तं योजयेच्च विरेचनम् ।।

The *añjana* prepared with *srotoñjana* dipped in juice, milk and ghee and heated could be appled to the eye. This is considered the best *añjana* for the cure of *vātatimira* (XIII. 57):

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प्रत्यञ्जने च स्रोतोजं रसक्षीरघृते क्रमात् ।
निषिक्तं पूर्ववद्योज्यं तिमिरघ्नमनुत्तमम् ।।

(ii) When the eye gets afflicted by *pitta* (bile), the *ghṛta* treated with *jīvanī* and *triphalā* should be taken followed by specific procedures (XIII. 63):

पित्तजे तिमिरे सर्पिर्जीवनीयफलत्रयैः ।
विपाचितं पाययित्वा स्निग्धस्य व्यधयेत्सिराम् ।।

The *añjana* prepared with five parts each of *sauvīrāñjana* and *tutthaka*, three parts each of *śṛṅgī* and *dhātrīphala*, one part each of *sphaṭika* and *karpūra* treated chemically would cure *pitta-timira* (XIII. 66cd-67ab) :

सौवीराञ्जनतुत्थकशृङ्गीधात्रीफलस्फटिककर्पूरम् ।।
पञ्चांशं पञ्चांशं त्र्यंशमथैकांशमञ्जनं तिमिरघ्नम् ।

(iii) The *timira* caused by *śleṣma* is treated by administering the *ghṛta* processed with the decoction of *amṛta* and *varākaṇā* (XIII. 68ab) :

श्लेष्मोद्भवेऽमृताक्वथवराकणशृतं घृतम् ।।

Also ointment made with *śaṅkha, priyaṅgu, trikaṭu* and *triphalā* is applied for clearning the eye (XIII. 70cd-71ab):

शङ्खप्रियङ्गुनेपालीकटुत्रिकफलत्रिकैः ।।
दृग्वैमल्याय विमला वर्तिः स्यात् ।

(iv) The *timira* caused by *rakta* is to be treated in the same way as that caused by *pitta*. Blood is to be normalised by cold drugs (XIII. 73ab):

रक्तजे पित्तवत्सिद्धिः शीतैश्चास्रं प्रसादयेत् ।।

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(v) For *niśāndha*, the *añjana* prepared out of *ghṛta*, boiled and processed with *tārkṣya, gairika*, and *tālīsa* and then mixed with *gomaya* and honey (*kṣaudra*), should be applied (XIII.84) :

रसक्रिया घृतक्षौद्रगोमयस्वरसद्रुतैः ।
ताक्ष्यंगैरिकतालीसैर्निशान्धे हितमञ्जनम् ।।

(vi) For *Doṣāndha*, the tender leaves of *jīvantī* treated with ghee, should be taken. Similarly *atimuktaka, eraṇḍa, śephālī* and *abhīru* treated with ghee is to be administered (XIII.89cd-90ab):

घृते सिद्धानि जीवन्त्याः पल्लवानि च भक्षयेत् ।।
तथाऽतिमुक्तकैरण्डशेफाल्यभीरुजानि च ।

III. In chapter XIV, the author describes *liṅganāśa* caused by *kapha* (phlem) its consequences and remedies.

Piercing or puncturing is to be done to the eye afflicted by phlegm (*kapha*) causing obstruction to vision; at this juncture the *timira* is fully grown but the six complications (*āvartaki* and others) are yet develop (XIV.1):

विध्येत्सुजातं निःप्रेक्ष्यं लिङ्गनाशं कफोद्भवम् ।
आवर्तक्यादिभिः षड्भिर्विवर्जितमुपद्रवैः ।।

The *kaphodbhava-liṅganāśa* not fully developed is uneven resembling the *dadhimastu* (colour of the whey of curd) and is thin; and when pierced by a thin needle would cause severe pain and obstruct vision. It increases with intake of *kapha* dominated food (XIV. 2-3):

सोऽसञ्जातो हि विषमो दधिमस्तुनिभस्तनुः ।
शलाकयाऽवकृष्टोऽपि पुनरूर्ध्वं प्रपद्यते ।।
करोति वेदनां तीव्रां दृष्टिं च स्थगयेत्पुनः ।
श्लेष्मलैः पूर्यते चाशु सोऽन्यैः सोपद्रवश्चिरात् ।।

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There are six types of complications related to *kaphodbhava-liṅganāśa*. They are *āvartaki, śarkara, rājīmatī, chinnāṃśuka, candrakī* and *chatraki*. In all these the colour of the eye is described.

(i) In *Āvartaki*, the vision is mobile like an *āvarta* and is reddish or black (XIV. 5ab):

तत्रावर्तचला दृष्टिरावर्तक्यरुणाऽसिता ।

(ii) The vision, in *śarkara* appears smeared with milky sap of *arka* (XIV. 5cd):

शर्कराऽर्कपयोलेशनिचितेव घनाति च ।।

(iii) in *rājīmatī*, it is as though filled with awns of paddy (XIV. 6ab):

राजीमती दृङ्निचिता शालिशूकाभराजिभिः ।

(iv) in *chinnāṃśuka*, it is uneven, broken and like one burnt (XIV. 6cd):

विषमच्छिन्नदग्धाभा सरुक् छिन्नांशुका स्मृता ।।

(v) in *candrakī* it is like moon and has the appearance of colour like that of bell metal (XIV. 7ab):

दृष्टिःकांस्यसमच्छाया चन्द्रकी चन्द्रकाकृतिः ।

(vi) in *chatraki*, the vision is like an umbrella and has many colours and also blue (i.e. black) (XIV. 7cd) :

छत्राभा नैकवर्णा च छत्रकी नाम नीलिका ।।

Post Surgery Care :

After explaining in detail the methods of removing the cataract which will be of great help to a physician, the post surgery care to be taken by the

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patient till the eye regains strength and firmness, is also given in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.* They are as follows:

(i) Sneezing, coughing, belching, spitting, drinking water, lying with face downwards, taking bath and chewing the stick to brush the teeth are to be avoided for a week (XIV.18cd-19):

क्षवथुं कासमुद्गारं ष्ठीवनं पानमम्भसः ।।
अधोमुखीस्थितिं स्नानं दन्तधावनभक्षणम् ।
सप्ताहं नाचारेत्स्नेहपीतवच्चात्र यन्त्रणा ।।

(ii) After the obstruction is removed, the eye should not see very minute and bright objects (XIV.22cd):

यन्त्रणामनुरुध्येत दृष्टेरास्थैर्यलाभतः ।
रूपाणि सूक्ष्मदीप्तानि सहसा नावलोकयेत् ।।

The author also mentions (XIV.24-32) methods to pacify the pain in the eyes caused by improper puncturing/surgery, by applying pastes of various types.

In the next two chapters (XV, XVI), the author describes the methods to find out the different types of eye diseases and their treatments respectively.

Dos and Donts for Healthy Eyes :

The author finally ends with some important instructions for those who are desirous of possessing healthy eyes. Some of them are as follows :

One should consume (necessary quantity) old *yava* (barley), wheat, rice and green-gram processed with ghee; this is capable of subsiding *kapha* and *pitta* (XVI. 61cd-62):

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सर्वदा च निषेवेत स्वस्थोऽपि नयनप्रियः ॥
पुराणयवगोधूमशालिषष्टिककोद्रवान् ।
मुद्गादीन् कफपित्तघ्नान् भूरिसर्पिःपरिप्लुतान् ॥

He should protect the eyes from scorching heat and have periodical check up of the eyes (XVI. 64 ab) :

आतपत्रं पदत्राणं विधिवद्दोषशोधनम् ।

One should avoid the food which would cause indigestion; avoid anger and agony (too much); avoid sleep at day time and waking at night. Thus with regulated food, one can protect the eyes (XVI. 64cd-65):

वर्जयेद्वेगसंरोधमजीर्णाध्यशनानि च ॥
क्रोधशोकदिवास्वप्नरात्रिजागरणातपान् ।
विदाहि विष्टम्भकरं यच्चेहाहारभेषजम् ॥

The author further ends with an important note that there are two *śiras* (veins) existing in the middle of the two feet which carry the results of the actions like the bath, massage and other external applications to the eyes (XVI. 66):

द्वे पादमध्ये पृथुसन्निवेशे शिरोगते ते बहुधा च नेत्रे ।
ता म्रक्षणोद्वर्तनलेपनादीन् पादप्रयुक्तान्नयने नयन्ति ॥

Hence he emphasises that one should always to strictly use foot-wear, do massage (of feet) by oil and wash them properly which in turn would protect the eyes (XVI. 67cd):

भजेत्सदा दृष्टिहितानि तस्मादुपानदभ्यञ्जनधावनानि ॥

From the description of eye diseases and treatment in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* one can infer the developments in the field of opthamology. It could be seen that methods to cure cataract and those that could not be cured were also known in Ancient India.

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APPLICATION OF AVYAYAS

V. Yamuna Devi

In *Nirukta* (I. 3. 3-22) words are generally classified into four kinds– *nāma* (noun), *ākhyāta* (verb), *upasarga* (verb prefix) and *nipāta* (particles); while the first two are declinables, the latter two are indeclinables. The indeclinables which are meagre in number such as the prepositions and particles are enlarged into a large group as *Avyayas* by Pāṇini. Several other categories of words like the compounds and derivatives are also included in it.

Avyaya

Avyayas are indeclinables which do not undergo any modification (though it may convey many meanings).

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (*M.Bh.*) on the sutra तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः (I-1-38) raises an objection that the name *Avyaya* is too long compared to the other Paninian technical terms which are as short as - *ṭhi, ghi* etc,. He defends it saying that it is an *anvartha samjñā* - तत्र महत्याः करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम्- अन्वर्था संज्ञा यंथा विज्ञायते ।। न व्ययेतीत्यव्यमिति.

तत्रक्क पुनर्न व्येति । - Where does it not undergo change?

The characteristics of nouns (*sattva*) are feminine, masculine and neuter genders and singular, dual and plural numbers. Some undergo change in the forms to denote them and some do not undergo change. Those which do not undergo change bear the name *avyaya* - तत्रस्त्रीपुंनपुंसकानि सत्वगुणाः एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि च । एतानर्थान् केचित् वियन्ति केचिन्न वियन्ति तदव्ययम् ।।

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Thus an *Avyaya* is one which has the same form in all the three genders, in all the seven *vibhaktis* and in all the three numbers (*M.Bh.* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*Aṣṭ*) I.1.38) : -

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ।।

The domain of Avyayas

The *Avyayas* comprise of prepositions, adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections.

Pāṇini has broadly termed the following as *Avyayas* – i. *Svarādis* ii. *Nipātas,* iii. *Asārvavibhaktitaddhitas,* iv. *Kṛdavyayas,* v. *Avyayayībhāvasamāsas.*

i. *Svarādis*

All the words enumerated in the group headed by *svar, antar* etc., are *avyayas* – स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । (*Aṣṭ* I.1.37) The list of words in *Svarādi* group are as follows -

स्व्र्, अन्तर् प्रातर् पुनर् सनुतर् उच्चैस् शनैस् ऋधक् ऋते युगपत् आरात् पृथक् ह्यस् श्वः दिवा रात्रौ सायं चिरं मनाक् ईषत् जोषम् तूष्णीम् बहिस् अवस् समया निकषा स्वयम् वृथा नक्तम् नञ् हेतौ इद्धा अद्धा सामि.

ii. *Nipātas*

The term *nipāta* is assigned to those enumerated between the *sūtras* प्राग्रीश्वरा: निपाता: (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.56) and अधिरीश्वरे (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.97) *Cādis, upasargas, gatis* and *karmapravacanīyas* are broadly the four varieties under the *nipātas.*

1. *Cādis*

Cādis are group of words headed by '*ca*'. This group has words denoting objects and non-objects. Those words (in this *gaṇa*)

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that do not denote an object alone are *nipātas* – चादयोऽसत्वे (*Aṣṭ.* I. 4.57). The *Cādis* are –

च, वा, ह, अह, एव, एवम् , नूनम् , शश्वत् , युगपत् , भूयस् , कूपत् , सूपत् , कुवित् नेत्, चेत् , चण , कच्चित् , किंचित् ,यत्र, न, ह , हन्त, माकिः , मार्कि, नकिः, माङ्, नञ् , यावत्, तावत् , वै, etc....

In addition to the above list, those having the semblance of *upasargas, vibhaktis* and *svaras* also belong to the *cādi gaṇa* – उपसर्ग-विभक्ति-स्वर-प्रतिरूपकाश्च निपाताः । (*M.Bh.* on VII.4.46).

(a) **उपसर्गप्रतिरूपकाः** – Semblance of *Upasarga.* In the following verse अव, वि, प्र, सु, अनु with the verb form दत्तं appear like *upasargas.*

अवदत्तं विदत्तं च प्रदत्तं चादिकर्मणि ।
सुदत्तमनुदत्तं च निदत्तमिति चेष्यते ॥

If these were *upasargas* the forms would have been *avattam, vittam etc,* by the *Sūtra* – अच उपसर्गत् तः (*Aṣṭ.* VII.4.47) as त - is replaced for the root - दा.

(b) **विभक्तिस्वरप्रतिरूपकाः** – Semblance of *Vibhakti.* In the word अहंयुः meaning अहंकारवान् , अहं appears to be like the nominative case of *asmad śabda* but it is an *avyaya* of *nipāta* class.

(c) **स्वरप्रतिरूपकाः** – Semblance of a *Svara* . In the examples अ अपेहि । इ इन्द्रं पश्य । the letters *'a'* and *'i'* appear like the *svaras* or the vowels. If they had been *svaras* there would have been a sandhi (vowel euphony) between them. Here there is no *sandhi* between thembecause they being *nipātas* have the term *pragṛhya* by the *sūtra* – निपात एकाजनाङ् (*Aṣṭ.* I.1.14) which says a *nipāta* which consists of a single *svara* other than *āṅ* is termed *pragṛhya.* The purpose is that these remain without forming a *sandhi* by प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् (*Aṣṭ.* VI.1.125) which ordains *prakṛti bhāva.*

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An important note about the cādis is that these are not employed independently for they convey the sense only when used with other words (*Vākyapadīya*, II. 194 cd.195):

चादयो न प्रयुज्यन्ते पदत्वेऽपि च केवलाः।
समुच्चिताभिधानेऽपि विशिष्टार्थाभिधायिनाम् ।
गुणैः पदानां सम्बन्धः परतन्त्रास्तु चादयः।।

"Particles *ca* etc, though they are separate words are not used by themselves even if they denote the things collected (and not the collection) there is no diversity. It is a thing which is not an entity."

2. *Upasargas*

The items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *upasargas* when they are used with verbs – प्रादयः उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.59)

The *prādis* are 22 in number – प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निस् निर् दुस् दुर् वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उद् अभि प्रति परि उप।

The *upasargas* enhance or change the meaning of verbs – क्रियायोगे क्रियाविशेषकः उपसर्गः (*M.Bh.* I.3.11on *Aṣṭ.* I.4.59) e.g. आहरति – विहरति प्रहरति– संहरति – परिहरति

धात्वर्थं बाधते कश्चित् कश्चित् तमनुवर्तते ।
तमेव विशिनष्ट्यन्योऽनर्थकोऽन्यः प्रयुज्यते ।।

(*Kātantravistara* of Vardhamāna)

The *upasargas* apart from enhancing or changing the meaning also serve some purposes such as changing the *ātmanepada* verb to *parsmaipada* verb, in forming *samāsa*, enabling *śatva* or *ṇatva* etc.

3. *Gatis*

Pāṇini has assigned a few items the term *gati.* Some of them are as follows :

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a. The items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are also (in addition to the term *upasarga*) termed *gati* – गतिश्च (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.60).

b. The items enumerated in the list headed by ऊरी 'to assent' as well as those which end in case affix 'च्व्यल् '(*Aṣṭ.* V. 4.50 – **अभूतभावे** ....) or डाज् (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.57– अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् ....) are also termed *gati* when they are used with a verb. Examples for these are as follows –

ऊर्यादयः like ऊरीकृत्य – after having accepted

च्व्यन्ताः like शुक्लीकृत्य – after having made something white

डाजन्ताः like पटपटाकरोति – makes the *paṭapaṭā* noise

c. The items under the *sūtras* आदरानादरयोः सदसिती (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.63), तिरोऽन्तर्धौ (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.71), also get the term *gati.*

d. *Gati* also is ordained optionally to the items under *sūtras* विभाषा कृञि (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.72) to जीविकौपनिषदावौपम्ये (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.79).

The purpose of assigning the term *gati* is to facilitate compounds by the *sūtra* (*Aṣṭ.* II. 2.18) कुगतिप्रादयः eg. प्र, सु, कृ, forms compound with कृत forming words such as – प्रकृत , सुकृत meaning 'well done'.

The term *gati* also facilitates *ādyudātta* and other *kāryas.*

4. कर्मप्रवचनीयाः – *Karmapravacanīyas*

The *sūtra* **कर्मप्रवचनीयाः** (*Aṣṭ.*I.4.83)ordains the term *Karmapravacanīya* to the items enumerated till the *sūtra* **विभाषा** कृञि (*Aṣṭ.* I. 4.98).

Karmapravacanīya is a big term compared with the other technical terms, such as टि घि etc – which are as short as two syllables.

The *M.bh.* explains that the term by itself is the definition – meaning that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्तः) an action (कर्म). These

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particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati.*

As सुसक्तं भवता - well praised by you

सुसिक्तं भवता - You have sprinkled well

Here *'su'* is a *Karmapravacanīya* and qualifies the sense of the verb *'saktam' i.e.* it is an adverb.

It is not an *upasarga,* for had it been so, 'स' would have changed to 'ष' by the rule (*Aṣṭ.* VIII. 3.65)

iii. *Asarvavibhaktitaddhitas*

Terms which end in *taddhita* affix (*Taddhitāh,* IV.1.76) and which do not occur before all the *vibhaktis* are also termed *avyayas* by the rule तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः (*Aṣṭ.* I.1.38)

For example, यदा, तदा, सदा, सर्वदा, तत्र, यत्र. Bases such as यत् तत् of यत्र and तत्र are constrained from being used in all *vibhaktis.* The cause of the introduction of only specific endings after these bases is the *taddhita* affixes which, after having been enjoined, make the derived forms indeclinables. These *taddhita* affixes are enjoined by the following *sūtras* – तसिश्च (*Aṣṭ.* IV. 3.113), तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः (*Aṣṭ.* V.1.115), विनाभ्यां (*Aṣṭ.* V.2.26), पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् (*Aṣṭ.* V.3.7) to याप्येपाशच (*Aṣṭ.* V.3.47), किमोत्तिङ्(*Aṣṭ.* V.4.11)..., अमु च च्छन्दसि (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.12), संख्यायाः ... (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.17), द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.18), विभाषा बहोर्धा (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.20)... , बह्वल्पार्थ (*Aṣṭ.* V.4.42) ... to समासान्तः (*Aṣṭ.* V.4. 68).

iv. *Kṛdavyayas*

Words which end in those *kṛt* affixes which end in '*m*' or '*ec*' are termed **avyayas** by the rule – कृन्मेजन्तः (*Aṣṭ.* I.1.39).

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For example स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते –"he eats the food after sweetening it"

संपान्नंकारं भुङ्क्ते – "he eats the food after spicing it".

लवणंकारं भुङ्क्ते – "he eats the food after salting it"

वक्षे रायः – "for naming the wealth"

ता वां रथानाम् – "for obtaining chariots".

v. *Avyayībhāvasamāsa*

The *sūtras* from *Aṣṭ.* II.1.5 to II.1.21 deal with *Avyayībhāvasamāsa*, and are termed *avyayas* by the rule – अव्ययीभावश्च (*Aṣṭ.* I.1.41).

Example उपाग्निम् - "one who is near fire".

Similarly in the benedictory verse of *Raghuvamśa* the word वागर्थाविव is an *avyayībhāvasamāsa*. The compound with '*iva*' is a nitya samāsa i.e. there is no elision of the case affix in वागर्थौ .

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये । जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ।

Application of *Avyayas*

The grammatical study of literature throws much light on the different aspects and shades of the *avyayas.* Its various shades of meanings are well brought out by the skilled poets. A brief survey of some of the *avyayas* , their meanings and their application with other grammatical aspects are analysed here:

The following single verse from Bhoja's *Campū Rāmāyaṇa* (I.2) has eight indeclinables :

उच्चैर्गतिर्जगतिसिध्यति धर्मतश्चेत् तस्या प्रमा च वचनैः कृतकेतरैश्चेत्।
तेषां प्रकाशनदशा च महीसुरैश्चेत् तानन्तरेण निपतेत् क्व नु मत्प्रणामः।।

उच्चैः = adverb used as an adjective in the sense of 'high' or 'supreme'

धर्मतः = *tas* is a suffix that forms an adverb

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चेत् = conditional conjunction (*cādi*)

च = copulative conjunction (*cādi*)

अन्तरेण = is an example of the instrumental case form used as an adverb (*cādi*)

क्व नु = is a conjunction usually with combinations like *kva nu khalu* or *kva nu*.

प्रणाम: = *pra* is prefix to substantive (verb)

In the *gaṇas* like the *svarādi gaṇa, cādi gaṇa* and and so on, the word-forms alone are enumerated while the meaning is to be inferred from the Vedas, *Koṣas,* usages and applications. Hence it is rightly said that '*Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the mother and *Amarakoṣa* the father of the world' – अष्टाध्यायी जगन्माता अमरकोषो जगत्पिता ।।

The *Amarakoṣa* (*AK*) has a separate section on *avyayas*. They are also found scattered throughout the work enumerated with the respective groups they belong to and also in the homonym section in the third *kāṇḍa*.

The commentators on *AK* like Kṣīrasvāmin, Appayyārya and others have also added to the list of *avyayas* and explained the meanings in which they are employed.

Other *Koṣas* also deal with *avyayas*. Individual works on *avyayas* are also attempted by the grammarians like Kṣīrasvāmin in *Nipātāvyaya-upasarga-vṛtti* on which studies have been made. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has also dealt elaborately with *avyayas* in the first chapter. *Avyaya Koṣa* of Śrī Śrīvatsāṅkācārya is exhaustive with all *avyayas* and their various meanings. These are some of the sources to understand the nature and implication of *avyayas*.

Avyayas too have homonyms - a single word having various meanings and synonyms - many words denoting the same sense.

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Homonymous *Avyayas*

1. आङ्

AK (III.3.239)mentions that आङ् is employed in the sense of little, inclusion, proximity and in association of roots- ईषदर्थेऽभिव्याप्तौ सीमार्थे धातुयोगजे । The *Avyayakoṣa* adds many other meanings in whichआङ् is employed. A few are illustrated here.

The ङ् in आङ् is elided by the rule – उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् (*Aṣṭ.* I.3.2).

(i) In the sense of little आ forms a *nitya samāsa* by the rule नित्यं कुगति प्रादय: (*Aṣṭ.* II.2.18). Thus in ओष्णम् (किञ्चिदुष्णम्), आ in the sense of slightly with उष्णम् hot is *nitya samāsa.*

The term आङ् in the same sense of slightly / little is used in *Kumārasambhava* (III.33) "Perspiration made its appearance on the ornamental paintings (on the persons) of the Kinnara ladies, the complexion of whose faces was **slightly yellow** and whose lips looked bright (not being smeared with wax) owing to the passing away of the wintry season":

हिमव्यपायाद्विशदाधराणामापाण्डुरीभूत मुखच्छवीनाम्।
स्वेदोद्गम: किंपुरुषाङ्गनानां चक्रे पदं पत्रविशेषकेषु ।।

(ii) In the sense of inclusion अभिव्याप्ति: (अभिविधि: तेनसहेति ।) (a) Pāṇini is known even to a child- आ कुमारं यश: पाणिने: (*M.Bh.* on I.4.89). (b) The Goddess is known even to a child or a cowherd – आबालगोपविदिता। (ललितासहस्रनाम)

(c) In the following verse of *Raghuvamśa* (I.5) "The Raghus who were pure from the time of their birth, whose actions were persistent till they yield (positive) results , who were the rulers of earth extending as far as the ocean and the track of whose chariots extended upto the heaven" the commentator Mallinātha emphasises that आङ् in this verse is in the sense of *abhividhi* or inclusion.

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सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानां आफलोयदकर्मणम्।
आसमुद्रक्षितीशानाम् आनाकरथवर्त्मनाम् ।।

Mallinātha further explains that the birth of the Raghus was pure by the performance of various *samskāras* and hence आङ् is *abhividhyartha* . If it be taken in the sense of *maryādā* or limit then it would mean that the birth of these kings would not be considedered pure - निषेकादिसर्वसंस्कारसंपन्नानामित्यर्थः । ... अत्र सर्वात्राऽङोऽभिविध्यर्थत्वं द्रष्टव्यम् अन्यथा मर्यादत्वे जन्मादिषु शुद्ध्यभावप्रसङ्गात् ।

The rule आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः (*Aṣṭ.* II.1.13) ordains compounding of '*āṅ*' optionally. In the above verse '*āṅ*' is compounded.

(iii) In the sense of limit or boundary (is non-inclusive) सीमा – तेन विना सीमा मर्यादा ।।

The rule आङ्मर्यादावचने (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.89) assigns *karmapravacanīyatva* to '*āṅ*'. Further the rule (आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः *Aṣṭ.* II.1.13) ordains compounding of '*āṅ*' optionally. In the absence of a compound the ablative case has to be used by the rule पञ्चम्याङ्परिभिः (*Aṣṭ.* II.3.10) illustrated in the following verse (*Raghuvamśa,* I.91) :

इत्या प्रसादादस्यास्त्वं परिचर्यापरो भव।

"Thus you be devoted to her service till she is pleased. ".

(iv) उद्गम – ऊर्ध्वगमनम् – In the sense of 'rising' as seen in the verse from *Raghuvamśa*, (V.71ab) – यावत् प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुः।

"Even before the sun the store house of effulgence rises"

(v) ग्रहे – स्वीकारे - In the sense of drawing / taking, आ is employed as the prefix or *upasarga* in the following verse (*Raghuvamśa*. I.18cd):

सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ।।

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(a) " The Sun draws water only to give it back thousand fold". आदत्ते - is the verb form of root दा prefixed with आ. In addition here the word उत्स्रष्टुं is a *tumunnantāvyaya.*

(b) Similarly in *Kumārasambhava* (II.46) -

यज्वभिः संभृतं हव्यं विततेष्वध्वरेषु सः।
जातवेद मुखान्मायी मिषतामाच्छिनत्ति नः ।।

"Tārakāsura well versed in magic arts, snatches away from the mouth of fire the oblation offered by the sacrifiers (in due form) in sacrifices when instituted, while we look on (helplessly)". आच्छिनत्ति - आक्षिप्यगृह्णातीत्यर्थः।

(v) स्पर्धायां यथा - (a) In the sense of rivalry or envy, as in the verse from *Śiśupālavadham* (XX.1d) where *Śiśupāla* - out of envy invites Kṛṣṇa for a fight: गतभीराह्वत चेदिराण्मुरारिम् ।।

Mallinātha, the commentator explains this phrase beautifully thus "here am I, where are you? Come for a combat with me". -अयमहं क्वासि मामभ्युपैहि इति स्पर्धया। अमर्षादाकारयामासेत्यर्थः ।

Also by the prefix '*ā*' the root 'ह्वे' gets the *ātmanepada* suffix '*ta*' by the rule (*Pā*.I.3.31) स्पर्धायामाङः and आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् (*Pā*. III.1.54)। स्पर्धायामाङः इति ह्वयतेर्लुङि तङ् आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् (*Pā*. III.1.54) इति च्लेर्तङादेशः।

(b) Another example from *Meghasandeśa* (I.12) where, by the use of *upasarga* the root takes *ātmanepada* is - Take leave of your friend, the mountain-आपृच्छस्व प्रियसखममुम् - here with '*ā*' the verb root पृच्छ् takes *ātmanepada* by the rule- आङ्नुिप्रच्छ्योरुपसंख्यानम् ।।

(vi) बन्धे - In the sense of 'bind or tie' are the following illustrations

(a) *Kumārasambhava*, (V.66): करोऽयमामुक्तविवाहकौतुकः। "this thy hand with the nuptial string still tied around it (bear the first clasp of Śambhu's hand decked with circling snakes)"

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(b) A similar instance from the *Raghuvamśa*,(XIII.21) is when Rāma talks to Sītā while they fly back to Ayodhyā in the Puṣpaka Vimāna–

करेण वातायनलम्भितेन स्पृष्टस्त्वया चण्डि कुतूहलिन्या।
आमुञ्चतीवाभरणं द्वितीयमुद्भिन्नविद्युद्वलयो घनस्ते ।।

"O sensitive lady! touched by you with your hand streched out from the windows of the car through curiousity, the cloud with its bracelet of lightening put forth, appears to give you another ornament to put on round your wrist".

2. आ

'*Ā*' is employed in the sense of remembrance, to differentiate the sentences and is a *pragṛhya* taking *prakṛtibhāva.* (*AK*. III.3.240): आ प्रगृह्य: स्मृतौ वाक्येऽपि ।

(i) स्मृतौ – In the sense of remembrance is '*Ā*! so it is thus – आ एवं खिल तत् ।

(ii) वाक्यान्तरस्यादौ – To differentiate the sentences as ' O! You consider thus' ; i.e. previously you had not understood thus but now you think otherwise – आ एवं नु मन्यसे इति । पूर्वं नैवममंस्था: अधुना प्रकारान्तरेण मन्यस इति तस्यार्थ:।

'*Ā* ' is employed as *pragṛhya* by the rule निपात एकाजनाङ् (*Aṣṭ*. I.1.14) and the *prakṛtibhāva* is ordained by प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि (*Aṣṭ*. VI.1.125). So there is no *sandhi* as seen in the above two examples.

3. च

The most important of the conjunctions and one very frequently used is *'ca'*. This *avyaya* in the sense of 'and' is placed after the last of the words or assertions it joins together. च – चाऽन्वाचय – समाहारेतरेतर – समुच्चये। (*AK*.III.3.241). Apart from these meanings, it is also used to

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connect subordinate fact, and other meanings as समुच्चय - विनियोग - तुल्ययोगिताहेतुषु । mentioned by commentators on *Amarakoṣa* like Kṣīrasvāmin and Appayārya.

It can never stand first in a sentence; nor can it be used like 'and' in English. रामः लक्ष्मणश्च । कामश्च जृम्भितगुणो नवयौवनं च - Love with its excellence expanded ... fresh youth.

(i) Sometimes it has a disjunctive force as in - शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः । The hermitage is tranquil yet my arm throbs.

(ii) It is used in the sense of ' if ' as in - जीवितुं चेदिच्छसि मूढ हेतुं मे गदतः श्रृणु । - Oh fool, if you wish to live, listen to the reason I say;

(iii) As an expletive (समाहार) - भीमः पार्थस्तथैव च । पाणी च पादौ च ।

(iv) It is used to connect a subordinate fact with the main one (अन्वाचय) - भिक्षामट गां चानय । Wander for alms and bring a cow.

(v) ' On the one hand ' and ' on the other hand ' - क्व च हरिणकानां जीवितं चातिलोलं क्व च निशित निपाता वज्रसाराः शरास्ते।। Where, on the one hand, is the extremely frail life of fawns and where, on the other, are thy arrows hard like thunderbolt falling sharply.

(vi) It is also employed to show the simultaneous or undelayed occurrence of two events:

(a) They reached the ocean and at the same time the primeval Being also awoke.- ते च प्रापुरुदन्वानं बुबुधे चादिपूरुषः ।

(b) Another Example from *Vikramorvaśīyam* (IV. 3):

अयमेकपते तया च वियोगः प्रियया चोपनतः सुदुःसहो मे।
नववारिधरोदयादहोभिर्भवितव्यं च निरातपत्वरम्यैः ।।

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"All too suddenly has this separation come
And that too from my beloved; so unbearable it is!
And now that the new rain-clouds have also appeared,
I believe the beauty of days will be halved
For want of any sunshine".

Here there are two factors which equally possess an irresistible capacity to excite one's agony, namely the separation from the beloved and the advent of the rainy season. Both of them are described here as converging at the same time by the force of the two particles *ca...ca...*

4. पुनः

पुनः – is used in the sense of 'repetition' and in sense of 'a different manner' (*AK.* III.3.253)–पुनरप्रथमे भेदे ।

(a) In *Mālavikāgnimitram* (I .12) पुनः is employed in the sense of 'in a different way' and not in the usual meaning 'again' or 'second time' " I, permitted by the persons appointed at the door and approaching with the person accustomed to move at close quarters of his Majesty's throne, *feel as if* prohibited without words, by his lustre which repels my eyes away from them" -

द्वारे नियुक्तपुरुषानुमतप्रवेशः सिंहासनान्तिकचरेण सहोपसर्पन्।
तेजोभिरस्य विनिवर्तितदृष्टिपातैर्वाक्यादृते **पुनरिव** प्रतिवारितोऽस्मि ।।

(b) Similar usage is also found in *Karṇabhāra* (8):

अयं स कालः क्रमलब्धशोभनः गुणप्रकर्षो दिवसोऽयमागतः।
निरर्थमस्त्रं च मया हि शिक्षितं **पुनश्च मातुर्वचनेन वारितः**।।

Here is that eagerly awaited auspicious time come in due course and this day of days (of excellent merit) has also arrived; but alas! the science of missiles learnt by me is of no use and am in another way (again) restrained by my mother's words.

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5. यावत् तावत्

यावत् तावत् is used in the following meanings (*AK*. III.3. 246) – of totality, boundary, measure, highlight: यावत् तावत् च साकल्ये ऽवधौ मानेऽवधारणे । The commentators like Liṅgabhaṭṭa and Kṣīrasvāmin add – time and cause- काल–हेतु– सीमादिष्वर्थेषु च. To illustrate a few:

(a) यावत् तावत् - In the sense of time - काल, the following verse from *Kumāra Sambhava* (III.72) is a good example - Śiva in anger burnt Manmatha to ashes is described thus - "Ere the cries of the Gods 'restrain thy ire, restrain thy ire O Lord' - could rise in the sky, the fire born of the eyes of Bhava left only the ashes of Madana". The simultaneous swift action is conveyed by the use of यावत् and तावत् - as soon as ; just as *i.e.* both the actions took place simultaneously.

क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरेति यावद्गिरः खे मरुतां चरन्ति।
तावत्स वह्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा भस्मावशेषं मदनं चकार।।

(b) यावत् तावत् - माने - In the sense of measure

The ancient Indian mathematical texts use it to denote the unknown variables, as is known from Bhāskara's *Bījagaṇita* (v.21):

यावत् तावत् कालको नीलकोऽन्यवर्णः पीतो लोहितश्चैतदाद्याः।
अव्यक्तानां कल्पिता मानसंज्ञास्तत्संख्यानं कर्तुमाचार्यवर्यैः।।

"In Algebra, Bhāskara uses the initial letters of the names of knowns and unknowns. Thus have *yāvat-tāvat* - *yā*, *kālaka* -*kā*, *nīlaka* -*nī* and so on".

Synonymous *Avyayas*

1. In the sense of similarity the following indeclinables are employed– वद् वा यथा तथेवैवं साम्ये(*AK*. III.4.9) .

तथा and वा used in sense of similarity are illustrated here as the others are in popular usage.

(i) तथा–The preceptor is to be revered like Śiva - शिवः पूज्यः तथा गुरुः।

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(ii) (a) वा - He himself (Kṛṣṇa) was the ornamental Tilaka mark (विशेषको) of the three worlds and like the Tilaka on forehead, hightened the beauty (विशिशेष) of the city (Dvārakā) (*Śiśupālavadha*. III. 63):

विशेषको वा विशिशेष यस्यां श्रियं त्रिलोकीतिलकः स एव।

(b) " The king suffering from consumption his family appeared like the sky having the moon in her last digit or like a puddle in summer season having but mud for its residuum or like a lamp stand having a minute jet of a pointed flame". *Raghuvamśa* (XIX.51):

व्योम पश्चिमकलास्थितेन्दु वा पङ्कशेषमिवधर्मपल्वलम् ।
राज्ञि तत्कुलमभूत्क्षयातुरे वामनार्चिरिव दीपभाजनम् ।।

(c) " I think that young lady, filled with deep longing is changed in appearance while these heavy days are passing, like a lotus plant struck down by winter (cold)." (*Megha*.II. 23):

जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वाऽन्यरूपाम् ।

2. In the sense of Appropriate- युक्ते द्वे सांप्रतं स्थाने ।। (*AK*. II.4.11)

Two words *sāmpratam* and *sthāna* are used in the sense of appropriate. Their applications are seen as in -

(a) " It is im-proper to cut down even a poisonous tree when once nurtured by oneself" (*Kumāra Sambhava*.II. 55cd):

विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसांप्रतम् ।।

(b) "Rightly are you called Viṣṇu in your immovable form; " (*Kumāra Sambhava*, VI.67ab):

स्थाने त्वां स्थावरात्मानं विष्णुमाहुस्तथा हि ते ।

Note: Here तथा is in the sense of 'because'.

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(c) The verse is the chitchatting of womenfolk on seeing prince Aja and Indumatī. "It is **beseeming** that this princess" Indumatī deemed *svayamvara* as the best course for her to follow, for many kings and princes, either seen or unseen by her, have ardently wished to clinch her hand in marriage; how else could she have obtained an equally worthy husband of her, just as Lakṣmī obtained Nārāyaṇa (*Raghuvamśa,* VII.13):

स्थाने वृता भूपतिभिः परोक्षैः स्वयंवरं साधुममंस्त भोज्या ।
पद्मेव नारायणमन्यथासौ लभेत कान्तं कथमात्मतुल्यम् ।।

(d) "It is but **proper** (or creditable to you) that you, though a paramount king, should exhibit poverty (a state having nothing) born of (the result) of sacrifice" (*Raghuvamśa,* V.16ab) :

स्थाने भवानेकनराधिपः सन्नकिंचनत्वम् मखजं व्यनक्ति।

3. In the sense of denoting the time

Last year, penult and present are denoted by *parut, parāri* and *aiṣama* (*AK*.III.4.20) – परुतपरार्यैषमोऽब्दे पूर्वे पूर्वतरे यति. The commentary explain thus –

पूर्वस्मिन्संवत्सरे परुत् पूर्वतरे संवत्सरे परारि – अस्मिन्संवत्सरे ऐषमः

The relevant *sūtra* for the same is – सद्यः परुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्य-पूर्वेद्युर्-अन्येद्युर्-अन्यतरेद्युर्-इतरेद्युर्-अधरेद्युर्-उभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः (*Aṣṭ.*V.3.22). A popular verse illustrating these *avyayas* is as follows –

परारिसंचितं वित्तं परुन्नष्टमभोगतः ।
ऐषमश्चीयते यत्नात् तस्य किं वा भविष्यति ।।

"The wealth accumulated in the penult year vanished/ diminished even without enjoying it; With great effort it is cumulated in this year for God knows what will happen to it in the year, ahead ! "

***Avyayas* which change the tenses and moods**

(1) Present tense with particles यावत् and पुरा have the sense of the future-

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(i) यावत्

(a) In the following verse the *avyaya* यावत् is used in sense of cause हेतौ (*Kum.Sam* III.4)- "by whom desirous of getting your post, has your vengence been roused by mighty austerities? For in a trice shall he be within the range of this, my bow on which an arrow has been fixed" - here the commentator Mallinātha states that यावत् is used in sense of यतः

केनाभ्यसूया पदकाङ्क्षिणा ते नितान्तदीर्घैर्जनिता तपोभिः।
यावद्भवत्याहितसायकस्य मत्कार्मुकस्यास्य निदेशवर्ती ।।

In the above verse M.R. Kale points out that the commentator Mallinātha has taken यावत् in the sense of यतः without stating any authority for such an interpretation. He suggests that it may be taken in the sense of साकल्य - 'fully be' or better with भवति giving it a future tense by the rule - यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लृट् (*Aṣṭ* III.3.4)

(ii) पुरा

'She will meet your sight or will be seen by you either engaged in performing woship' *Mega* (Uttara. 25) :

आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा बलिव्याकुला वा

'The two descendents of Kākutstha crushed him to death fearing lest the unholy smell of his body should contaminate the locality interred him under the ground'(*Raghu.*12.30):

तं विनिष्पिष्य काकुत्स्थौ पुरा दूषयतिस्थलीम् ।

'Did the creator mark his foot with an upward line (believed by astrologers to bring luck) to indicate that it would be upper most (in beauty and position) in the future?' (*Naiṣadha* 1.18ab):

पुरेदमूर्ध्वं भवतीती वेधसा पदं किमस्याङ्कितमूर्ध्व रेखा ।।

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Avyayas that change/ affect the cases

(i) By the *Sūtra* (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.46) अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म, when *adhi* is prefixed with roots शीङ्, स्था and आस् the substratum is in accusative case instead of Saptamī.

(a) 'She (Kāmadhenu) is now dwelling in the Nether World, the gates of which are closed by the serpents, . . .' (*Raghu.* I.80) By *adhitiṣṭhati* the word *pātāla* is in *dvitīyā vibhakti* - accusative case.

भुजङ्गपिहितद्वारं पातालमधितिष्ठति ।।

(b) Similarly in *Śiśupālavadha* (II. 5ab) it is described that Kṛṣṇa, Uddhava and Balarāma occupied their high seats. Here the substratum *pīṭha* is in accusative instead of locative by *adhyāsāmāsuḥ.*

अध्यासायामासुरुत्तुङ्गहेमपीठानि यान्यमी।

(ii) By the *Sūtra* उपान्वध्याङ्वसः (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.48), when *upa, anu, adhi* and *āṅ* is prefixed with root वस् the substratum is in accusative case instead of *Saptamī* or locative case.

(a) Daśaratha honoured by the Gods and also shared an equal seat with Indra resided in Ayodhyā. (*Campū Rāmāyaṇa* I.12ab). Hence in the following verse by the word *āvasad* the substratum *tām* is employed in accusative case though it generally takes locative.

तामावसद्दशरथः सुरवन्दितेन संङ्क्रन्दनेन विहितासनसंविभागः।

(iii) अनु

Anu is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* by the rule अनुर्लक्षणे (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.84)- when *laksana* 'characteristic mark' is denoted.When *Anu* is used in the sense of a mark cause which serves as a term *karma-pravacanīya* is assigned by the rule – तृतीयार्थे (*Aṣṭ.* I.4.85). It is assigned the accusative case by the rule - कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया (*Aṣṭ.* II.3.8).

(a) 'He did not consign his body to flames with his queen not because he cared for his life but because he apprehended the scandal that the

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king, knowing as he was, died after his queen from grief ' *Raghu* (VIII.72):

प्रमदामनु संस्थितः शुचा नृपतिः सन्निति वाच्यदर्शनात् ।
न चकार शरीरमग्निसात्सह देव्या न तु जीवितेच्छया ।।

Here *Pramadām anu* (following the wife in her death) is the mak which serves as the cause for the king to end his life. Hence '*anu*' the *karmapravacanīya* in this sense ordains accusative case.

(b) In the following verse तमेनमनु illustrates the *karmapravacanīya* '*anu*' in the sense of *lakṣaṇa* meaning the three brothers were born aftər such a R¢ma while अनुकुर्वन्तः illustrates the *upasarga* meaning 'like'/ 'similarity'. (*Campū Rāmāyaṇa*. I. 31):

तमेनमन्वजायन्त त्रयस्त्रेताग्नितेजसः।
अग्रजस्यानुकुर्वन्तस्तैस्तैर्लोकोत्तरैर्गुणैः।।

(c) अनु हीने उप अधिके '*Anu*' in sense of 'inferior' is assigned *Karma-pravacanīya* by हीने च (*Aṣṭ.*1.4.86) and '*upa*' in the sense of 'superior' by उपोऽधिके च (*Aṣṭ.* 1.4.87) govern accusative case by the rule कर्मप्रवचनीय–युक्ते द्वितीया (*Aṣṭ.* II.3.8) the following verse from Bhaṭṭi kāvya illustrates the same.

"If your honour were not inferior to Rāma but were supermost among the brave, why did you kidnap me here after leading away the warriors (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) by ruse?" (*Bhaṭṭi*, 8.86) :

न भवाननु रामं चेदुप शूरेषु वा ततः।
अपवाह्य छलाद्वीरौ किमर्थं मामिहाहरः।।

यदि भवान् न अनु रामं रामान्न हीन इत्यर्थः। उपशूरेषु वा शूरेभ्यो वा अधिको भवान् यस्मादधिकमिति अनेन सप्तमी उपशब्दस्याधिकद्योतनात् वीरा रामलक्ष्मणौ अपवाह्य अन्यतो नीत्वा मामिहाहरः लंकामानीतवान् ।।

(d) **उप हीने, अप वर्जने** The two *karmapravacanīyas* (a) '*upa*'. in the sense of 'inferior' ordains accusative case; (b) '*apa*' in the sense of exclusion ordains ablative instead of accusative. These are illustrated as follows -

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"H ow, oh lowliest of the demons, (would) your behaviour not be (regarded as) inferior to that of a warrior, in as much as, now (you have your) residence" in Laṅkā through fear, away from the people? *Bhaṭṭi* (8.87) :

उपशूरं न ते वृत्तं कथं रात्रिंचराधम।
यत् संप्रत्यपलोकेभ्यो लङ्कायां वसतिर्भयात् ॥

हे रात्रिञ्चराधम कथं ते वृत्तं चरितं नोपशूरं शूरेभ्यो नहीनम्। उपोधिके च (*Aṣṭ*.I.4.87) इति चकाराद्धीने उपशब्दस्य कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा। यद्यस्मात् संप्रत्यधुना भयाल्लंकायां जलपर्वतदुर्गायां वसतिः। अपलोकेभ्यो लोकान् वर्जयित्वा अपपरिवर्जने (*Aṣṭ*. I.4.88) इति कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः (*Aṣṭ*.II.3.10)

(e) **नमः** By the rule – नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंवषड्योगाच्च (*Aṣṭ* II.6.16) नमः governs the noun in dative case.

The *rākṣasis* in Laṅkā are threatening Sītā "Salute Rāvaṇa and you shall be safe or good will befall you Sītā. Otherwise we shall end your life by taking you for our breakfast" (*Bhaṭṭi* 8.98):

रावणाय नमस्कुर्याः स्यात्सीते स्वस्ति ते ध्रुवम् ।
अन्यथा प्रातराशाय कुर्याम त्वामलं वयम् ॥

The interjections

The interjection is not properly a part of speech, as it does not enter into the construction of sentences. It is sudden exclamation prompted by some strong feeling or emotion.

आ ई उ ए अह अहह अहो बत - These are expressive of wonder, grief or regret. धिक् - Expressive of contempt; बत हा expressing sorrow, dejection etc.; हा हाहा हन्त - showing grief; There are some interjections used to call attention respectfully like हा हे भो बत हे अङ्ग with disrespect as अङ्ग अरे रे अये रेरे

The following verse from *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (6.11) has employed about a dozen of *avyayas* most of which are interjections. Rāma laments the loss of Sītā thus-

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"Alas! what a calamity! It is a pity! Alas, how strange! Hum! (what) a rage! Ah!mother Fie upon the deities! Ah, Father! oh (Sītā) who has beautiful eye-brows, where are you?" Thus he lamented excessively. (*Bhaṭṭi* 6.11):

आः कष्टं बत ही चित्रं हूं मातर्दैवतानि धिक् ।
हा पितः! क्वासि हे सुभ्रु बह्वेवं विललाप सः ।।

The meaning of each interjection is well explained in the commentary as follows:

कष्टं कृच्छ्रं प्राप्तमित्यर्थः । बत खेदे । ही विषादे । चित्रं स्वहस्तगतापि क्व गतेति चित्रीयत । मातरित्यापदि स्मृताया मातुरामन्त्रणम् । दैवतानि धिक् इति शोकातिरेकाद्देवनिन्दा। हूं इत्यपकारिणि क्रोधे । पितः मातृवदेवामन्त्रणम् । क्व कुत्र । हे संबोधने । एवं इत्थम् ।।

The *A.K.* (3.3.240) denotes that आः is used in following meanings – आस्तु स्यात् कोपपीडयोः।

According to *A.K.* (3.3.240) the interjection कु denotes – पापकुत्सेषदार्थे कु ।

A.K. (3.3.240) explains that धिक् is employed in the following meanings – धिङ्निर्भर्त्सनिन्दयोः ।

The avyayas having semblance of verbs

तिङन्त प्रतिरूपकार्थे – आस

This is generally used in sense of was - बभूव । The root अस् in perfect is - बभूव। आस is therefore defective. But it is seen that Kālidāsa is fond of this usage as seen in the following instances-

(a) 'The creator after he had fashioned her beautiful thighs, not very long, round and symmetrical had to make an effort as it were for the production of excellent beauty when forming her other limbs' (*Kumāra Sambhava*, I. 35):

वृत्तानुपूर्वे च न चातिदीर्घे जङ्घे शुभे सृष्टवतस्तदीये।
शेषाङ्ग निर्माणविधौ विधातुर्लावण्य उत्पाद्य इवास यत्नः ।।

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'He being averse to avarice the people became wealthy, he dispelling fear of obstacles they performed religious rites, he being their ruler they were blessed with a father in him and he removing their grief they were blessed with a son' (*Raghu*. XIV. 23):

तेनार्थवाँल्लोभपराङ्मुखेन तेन घ्नता विघ्नभयं क्रियावान् ।
तेनास लोकः पितृमान्विनेत्रा तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री ।।

(b) 'Then catching the twanging sound of their bow string Tāṭakā whose complexion resembled the appearance of a night of the dark-fortnight and whose ear-rings made of human skulls were dangling, appeared before them like a thick row of clouds interspersed with flocks of cranes' *Raghu* (XI.15):

ज्यानिनादमथ गृह्णती तयोः प्रादुरास बहुलक्षपाछविः ।
ताटका चलकपालकुण्डला कालिकेव निबिडा वलाकिनी ।।

(c). 'The moment that bow, the one end of which was placed on the ground, was strung by that powerful prince, the enemy of kings turned blank(pale) like fire having its smoke only left to it' *Raghu*.(XI. 81):-

तेन भूमिनिहितैककोटि तत्कार्मुकं च बलिनाऽधिरोपितम् ।
निष्प्रभश्च रिपुरास भूभृतां धूकशेष इव धूमकेतनः ।।

In all these instances the commentator Mallinātha states it to be a verbal indeclinable. The use of **आस** is justified by Mallinātha by quoting śākaṭāyana who opines it to be a verbal indeclinable in sense of **बभूव ।** According to Vāmana '*as*' is a different root altogether belonging to the first conjugation meaning to go, to shine, oversight and tries to justify the form.

आस इति बभूवार्थे तिङ्न्तप्रतिरूपकमव्ययमित्याह शाकटायनः । वल्लभस्तु न तिङ्न्तप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् अस्तेर्भूः इति भ्वादेशनियमात्ताद्दक्तिङन्तस्यैवाभावात् । किंतु कवीनामयं प्रामादिकः प्रयोग इत्याह । वामनस्तु अस गतिदीप्त्यादानेष्विति धातोर्लिटि रूपमिदमित्याह । आस दिदीपे ।। प्रवृत्त इत्यर्थः । *Kumārasambhava* (1.35).

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The view of Bhāṣyakāra Patañjali (*Avyayakośa*, p.98) is discussed by the scholars and considered as a verbal indeclinable. It is included in the *avyayakośa* as तिङन्तप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् ।

वस्तुतस्तु सर्वशिष्टसम्मतत्वात् तिङन्तप्रतिरूपकमप्यस्त्येवेति भाष्यादिषु स्पष्टमित्यन्यत्र विस्तरः ।

The indeclinables as the *rasadyotakas* - Kuntaka

(a) The quarters are painted deep with a thick dark hue; against the clouds fly cranes in curving rows; winds are cool and joyous cries go forth from peacocks who are friends of the cloud. Let them be alright; I am Rāma, with a heart, hard as adamant and I will bear all. But how will Vaidehī be ? Alas O Queen, be bold I beseech you.

स्निग्धश्यामलकान्तिलिप्तवियतो वेल्लद्बलाका घना
वाताः शीकरिणः पयोदसुहृदामानन्दकेकाः कलाः।
कामं सन्तु दृढं कठोरहृदयो रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे
वैदेही तु कथं भविष्यति हहा हा देवि धीरा भव।।

(b) The above verse has a very touching description of Rāma who gets perturbed all of a sudden by the crowding in of stimulating forces of nature. The conjunction *tu* - but contrasts the situation of Sītā with that of Rāma.The sentiment of love rising to a climax here is indeed very fresh, and it has been made possible only by the cumulative effect of the various indeclinables used.

'By this indeed your black figure will shine all the brighter, even like the person of Viṣṇu in the guise of a cowherd with his radiant peacock-plumes'. Here the indeclinable *atitarām* -'all the more' is extremely attractive (*Megha*.15 ab):

येन श्यामं वपुरतितरां कान्तिमापत्स्यते ते
बर्हेणेव स्फुरितरुचिना गोपवेषस्य विष्णोः।

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Thus from the bird's eye view of the application of the *avyayas* it can be well understood how rightly Kuntaka (*Vakrokti*, II.33) emphasises that the indeclinables though a part of speech alone, do enhance the poetry as a whole -

रसादिद्योतनं यस्यामुपसर्गनिपातयोः ।
वाक्यैकजीवितत्वेन सापरा पदवक्रता ।।

'In a poem where the prepositions and indeclinables are employed only to suggest *rasas* as the sole essence of a poem as a whole, we have what may be called another type of 'word-beauty'.

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GOLD: VARIETIES AND UTILITIES

LAVANYA V. ESWAR

The attributes of gold influenced the mind and heart of Indians so much so that they conferred upon the supreme spirit the designation of *Hiraṇyagarbha.* It was so called, because he remains in a golden egg as an embryo. It was the popular belief that the fire-god, Agni, created gold and it was associated with sun. Being associated with the sun, gold was valued for its purifying and life-giving powers. Gold was also associated with Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and several other Hindu deities. Gold also has a religious importance in India.

Gold is a subject of much speculation among those who have made a study of the history of ancient India. In the Vedas, the great Epics (*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*), and Purāṇas mention has been made of gold in India. There are no less than eighteen synonyms in Sanskrit denoting 'gold' as mentioned in the *Amarakośa* (2.9.94-5):

स्वर्णं सुवर्णं कनकं हिरण्य हेम हाटकम् ।
तपनीयं शातकुम्भं गाङ्गेयं भर्म कर्बुरम् ।।
चामीकरं जातरूपं महारजतकाञ्चने ।
रुक्मं कार्तस्वरं जाम्बूनदमष्टापदोऽस्त्रियाम् ।।

The commentator Liṅgayasūri in his commentary, *Amarapadavivṛtti*, explains the synonyms thus:

1. शोभनो वर्णो यस्य स्वर्णम् । सुवर्णं च । – that which is of good or beautiful colour.

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2. कनति दीव्यति इति **कनकम्** । – that which is extracted from earth and shines.

3. हर्यतीति **हिरण्यम्** । – that which shines with brilliance

4. हिनोति ताम्राद्यवलेपनात् वर्धत इति **हेम** । – that whose lustre increases when united with copper alloys.

5. हटति दीव्यतीति **हाटकम्** । – that which is bright.

6. तप्यतेऽग्नाविति **तपनीयम्** । – that which is purified in fire.

7. शतकुम्भाख्ये आकरे गिरौ वा भवतीति **शातकुम्भम्** । – that which is obtained from the mountain *Śatakumbha.*

8. गङ्गाया अपत्यं **गाङ्गेयम्** । – that obtained from the river of Gaṅgā.

9. भ्रियतेऽङ्गुल्यादिरिति **भर्म** । – that which is borne by the finger.

10. कर्वति लोहमध्ये स्वश्रैष्ठ्यादिति **कर्बुरम्** । – that which is variegated among other metals out of its richness.

11. चामीकराख्याकरे गिरौ वा भवत्वात् **चामीकरम्** । – that which is got from the *Cāmīkara* mines.

12. महार्घतया जातं प्रशस्तं रूपमस्येति **जातरूपम्** । – that which is known to be very expensive and of exalted form.

13. रज्यते ताम्रादिकमनेनेति **रजतम्** । महच्च तद्रजतं च **महारजतम्** । – that which shines the most and which makes other metals to shine.

14. काञ्चते दीप्यत इति **काञ्चनम्** । – that which is very bright

15. रोचत इति **रुक्मम्** । – that which is radiant

16. कृतस्वराख्याकरभवत्वात् **कार्तस्वरम्** । – that which is got from the Kṛtasvara mines.

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17. जम्बूफलरसोत्पन्ननदीभवत्वात् जाम्बूनदम् । – gold obtained from the river Jambū.

18. अष्टसु लोहेषु पदं प्रतिष्ठास्येति अष्टपदम् । – that which forms a part among the collection of eight metals.

Gold is referred to by various names in the Vedic texts too. *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*) (2.2.4) refers to gold as *candra* – चन्द्रमिव सुरुचं; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (Bṛ. Up.)* calls it by the name *jātarūpa* [1]; *Atharvaveda* (*AV.*) [2] refers to it as *suvarṇa* ; *ṚV* and *AV* [3] assign the name *hiraṇya* to it.

Deposits of gold in Ancient India:

The extraction of gold from earth was known to Vedic people. In the *Atharvaveda* (12.1.6) the earth has been referred to as *hiraṇyavakṣa* – the one containing gold in her chest. Another hymn[4] implies that the earth has mines of gold.

In ancient India, the following types of gold deposits were known:

(i) Alluvial Placer Deposit : There is a considerable amount of reference to the **alluvial placer deposit** of gold and the recovery of gold from such deposits. Gold is also recovered from the river beds and that is why the Indus was called *Hiraṇmaya* in the *ṚV* (10.75.8ab) :

स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्मयी सुकृता वाजिनीवती ।

The extraction of gold from the earth by mining is mentioned in *ṚV* (1.117. 5c) :

शुभे रुक्मं न दर्शतं निखातम् ... ... ।

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1 *Br. Up.* 6.4.25: अथास्य दक्षिणं कर्णमभिनिधाय वाग्वागिति त्रिरथ दधिमधुघृतसंनियानन्तर्हितेन जातरूपेण प्राशयति ।

2 *AV.* 15.1.2 : स प्रजापतिः सुवर्णमात्मन् अपश्यत् ।

3 *ṚV*. 1.43.5 : शुक्र इव सूर्यो हिरण्यमिव रोचते । *AV.* 2.36.7 : इदं हिरण्यं ।

4 *AV.* 12.1.44 : निधिं बिभ्रती बहुधा गृहा वसु मणिं हिरण्यं पृथिवी ददातु मे ।

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ṚV (6.61.7ab) names the river Sarasvatī as *hiraṇya-vartanī* for the same reason :

उत स्या नः सरस्वती घोरा हिरण्यवर्तनिः ।

(ii) Vein deposits : The rocks of mountains are the important source of vein deposits of gold. In the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, 104.2), it has been stated that the Meru or Sumeru mountain contained gold:

अद्रिराजं महाशैलं मेरुं कनकपर्वतम् ।
उदयास्तमने भानुः प्रदक्षिणमवर्तत ।।

(iii) Liquid ore of gold: In ancient Sanskrit texts, there is a mention of certain naturally occurring special liquids containing gold, which may be considered as liquid ores of gold.

The *Mahābhārata* refers to a peculiar type of gold called *pipīlikā* (ants' gold). Heaps of this type of gold was presented to king Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of *rājasūya yajña* ceremony by the kings of the Khasas, Ekāsanas, Arhas, Pradarās, Dīrghaveṇus, Pāradas, Kulindas, Taṅgaṇas and other Taṅgaṇas (Sabhā, 52.3-4):

खसा एकासना ह्यर्हाः प्रदरा दीर्घवेणवः ।
पारदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तङ्गणाः परतङ्गणाः ।।
तद् वै पिपीलिकं नाम उद्धृतं यत् पिपीलिकैः ।
जातरूपं द्रोणमेयमहार्षुः पुञ्जशो नृपाः ।।

Pipīlika gold was powdery in nature and of high purity. It was obtained by panning the auriferous soil of ant hills formed by ants or termites as a part of their nature on the land containing placer gold deposits and hence the name ants' gold. This has been seen and recorded by Megasthenes, the famous traveller, in his *Indica*.

Native gold is invariably by no means a pure metal. It contains upto twenty percent silver, copper, iron, lead, bismuth, platinum

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group metals and other metals, as impurities. Thus, native gold would have different colours depending upon the nature and amount of impurities present. It is logical to assume that the different colours of native gold were a major driving force for the development of gold refining process. Although, evidence of gold refining is available in Vedic texts in an allegorical form, it is the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, which presents it in detail.

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is the most authentic ancient text describing the ores of metals.The most important metals are the gold and silver. The different types of gold ores are enlisted in *Arthaśāstra* (II.12.5).

पीतकास्ताम्रकास्ताम्रपीतका वा भूमिप्रस्तरधातवो भिन्ना नीलराजीवन्तो मुद्गमाषकृसरवर्णा वा दधिबिन्दुपिण्डचित्रा हरिद्रा-हरीतकी-पद्मपत्र-शैवालय-कृत्प्लीहानवद्यवर्णा भिन्नाश्चुञ्चुबालुकालेखाबिन्दुस्वस्तिकवन्तः सगुलिका अर्चिष्मन्तस्ताप्यमाना न भिद्यन्ते बहुफेनधूमाश्च सुवर्णधातवः प्रतीवापार्थास्ताम्ररूप्यवेधनाः।

From this it can be understood that:

1. Gold ores are obtained from plains or slopes of mountains;

2. They are either yellow or as red as copper or reddish yellow; these when disjoined show blue lines;

3. Some are marked with white spots like a drop of curd;

4. Some are colourful like turmeric, yellow myrobalan or petals of a lotus;

5. Some ores possess a sandy layer within them;

6. Some are marked with figures of a circle or a *svastika*;

7. Some are in the form of globular masses and when roasted they do not split, but emit much foam and smoke. They are used to form amalgams with copper or silver.

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These descriptions agree well with the information available on minerals and ores of the metals provided in the modern texts.

In addition to the different synonyms for gold mentioned in *Amarakośa,* the *Arthaśāstra* (II.13.3) describes some more forms as:

... ... वैणवं शृङ्गिशुक्तिजं ... रसविद्धाकारोद्गतं च ... ।

The names are given based on the process or the place from where the gold is obtained and produced that from Veṇu, (that) produced in Śṛṇgaśukti, (that) found in a natural condition, (that) transmuted by means of liquids and that produced from mines.

Purification of Gold:

Gold purification has also been explained in the same chapter of *Arthaśāstra* (II.13.47,48) :

तपनीयं ज्येष्ठं सुवर्णं सुरागं समसीसातिक्रान्तं पाकपत्रपक्वं सैन्धविकयोज्ज्वालितं नीलपीतश्वेतहरितशुकपत्रवर्णानां प्रकृतिर्भवति।

तीक्ष्णं चास्य मयूरग्रीवाभं श्वेतभङ्गं चिमिचिमायितं पीतचूर्णितं काकणिकः सुवर्णरागः ।

According to this, ornamental gold of the best kind, passing through an equal amount of lead, turned into leaves by heating and made bright with Indus-earth becomes the base of blue, yellow, white, green and parrot feather colours. The colouring ingredient of gold is one *kākaṇi* of *tīkṣṇa* which is of the colour of the neck of a peacock, tinged with white and which is dazzling and full of copper.

Kauṭilya described a variety of gold (in liquid form) called *rasaviddha.* He stated that one *pala* (a measure) of this solution converts one hundred *palas* of silver or copper into gold, which refers to the cementation of gold on the surface of metals like silver and copper.

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The *Bṛ.Up.*[5] speaks of goldsmiths reshaping and redesigning a piece of old gold; *Ch. Up.*[6] talks in detail about amalgamating gold with other metals such as silver with gold, zinc with silver, lead with zinc, iron with lead, etc. by means of salt and borax.

Gold as an Ornament :

Ornaments made of gold were found in vogue as early as the *ṚV.* The word *añji* referring to ornaments is found in *ṚV* and the *AV*[7]. In *ṚV* (1.122.14) mention is made of a golden ear ring and necklace made of precious stone as – हिरण्यकर्णं मणिग्रीवम् ।

Moreover it is said that golden ornaments were gifted to daughters during their marriage by their fathers. In this regard *ṚV*[8] refers to *niṣka; kurīra* as head-ornament is also mentioned in *ṚV*[9]; an ear-ornament *pravarta* is found mentioned in *AV*[10] and *niṣkagrīva*, a necklace of *niṣka*-coins is mentioned in the *AV*[11].

Indra is said to have worn ornaments on arms and breasts (*ṚV.* 8. 68. 3c): हस्ता वज्रं हिरण्ययम् । The Maruts, like young suitors and rich heirs are noted to have worn golden ornaments (*ṚV.* 5. 60. 4ab):

वरा इवेद् रैवतासो हिरण्यैरभि स्वधाभिस्तन्वः पिपिश्रे ।

The Aśvini Kumāras, says *ṚV* (8.5.28-9), travelled in a chariot with golden seats, bridle, axle, wheels and ornamentations:

रथं हिरण्यबन्धुरं हिरण्याभीशुमश्विना । आ हि स्थाथो दिविस्पृशम् ॥
हिरण्ययी वां रभिः ईषा अक्षो हिरण्ययः । उभा चक्रा हिरण्यया ॥

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5 *Bṛ. Up.* 4.4.4 : तधथा पेषस्कारी पेशसो मात्रामुपादायान्यन्नवतरं कल्याणतररूपं तनुते .. ..।

6 *Ch. Up.* 4. 17. 1: तद्यथा लवणेन सुवर्णं सन्दध्यात् सुवर्णेन रजतम् ... ।

7 *ṚV.* 1.64.ab : चित्रैः अञ्जिभिः वपुषे व्यञ्जते । *AV.* 20.67.4b : शुभ्रासौ अञ्जिषु ।

8 *ṚV.* 2.33.10 : निष्कं यजतं विश्वरूपम् ।

9 *ṚV.* 10.85.8 : कुरीरं छन्द ओपशः ।

10 *AV.* 15.2.5 : हरितौ प्रवर्तौ कल्मलिर्माणिः ।

11 *AV.* 5.14. 3 : देवा निष्कमिव ।

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The *YV* (30.17; 30.7; 11.56) mentions goldsmith, jeweller and golden ornaments like *opaśā* :

वर्णाय हिरण्यकारम् ... । रूपाय मणिकारम् ... । सुकपर्दा सुकुरीरा स्वौपशा ।

The *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (1.22.16-7) states that in the *sīmantonnayana* ceremony, the wife must sing merrily, bedecked with gold ornaments:

मोदमयीं गापयेत् महीं हेमवतीं वा . . . ।

The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (20.15.9) refers to a thousand golden ornaments when talking about the Aśvamedha Yāga.

Use of Gold in rituals and beliefs related to Gold :

ṚV (6.47.23cd) is an example to prove that gold was used as an object of gift: It says that Divodāsa gifted ten lumps of gold to Garga Bhāradvāja :

दशो हिरण्यपिण्डान् दिवोदासादसानिषम् ।

AV (19.26.1), says that wearing gold assures long life (*amṛta*) to the mortals (*martya*) :

अग्नेः प्रजातं परि यद्धिरण्यम् अमृतं दधे अधि मर्त्येषु ।

AV (19.26.3) also talks of long life, grace and strength to the person who wears gold:

आयुषे त्वा वर्चसे त्वौजसे च बलाय च ।
यथा हिरण्यतेजसा विभासासि जनाँ अनु ।।

Architecture and Gold :

Stambhas or pillars of gold, silver, crystal, ivory and gems are mentioned as a notable feature of the buildings of *Laṅkā*. The mention of golden pillars, multiple storied buildings, marble-laid floorings,

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windows with the glimmer of pearls, and gold palaces larded with diamonds and lapises points to an advanced stage of stone architecture (*Rāmāyaṇa,* Sundara. 2.49-50) :

प्रसादमालावितताां स्तम्भैः काञ्चनसन्निभैः शातकुम्भनिभैर्जालैर्गन्धर्वनगरोपमम् ।
सप्तभौमाष्टभौमैश्च स ददर्श महापुरीं तलैः स्फटिकसङ्कीर्णैः कार्तस्वरविभूषितैः ।।

The palace of Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍu brothers, is thus described: The assembly hall in the palace stood on golden pillars. It shone in great splendour like the fire, the sun on the moon (*Mahābhārata,* Sabhā, 22cd, 23cd):

सभा च सा महाराज शातकुम्भमयद्रुमा ।।
यथा वह्नेर्यथार्कस्य सोमस्य च यथा सभा ।।

Garments :

People used garments which were combined with gold in worship and rituals as they expressed purity.

Not only was the cloth of gold from India imported it was highly valued in other parts of the world also. The craftsmen used gold threads to weave and embroider intricate patterns on the fabric. It is said that trade of exotic silk and gold-thread weavings from China and India was vigorous from the seventh century to fifteenth century A.D.

Some travellers like Megasthenes, Curticus Rufus Quintus and Ptolemy mention the exquisiteness of fabrics made in India using gold. Megasthenes who was the Seleucid envoy at the court of Candragupta Maurya has written a detailed account of the country at that time.

Gold as Currency :

In the *ṚV* there are references to two types of metallic currency. One is *niṣka* which is actually a gold coin (stamped currency) (I.126.2)

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and the other is *hiraṇya piṇḍa* or buttons of gold (unstamped currency) (VI.47:23) :

दशाश्वान्दश कोशान्दश वस्त्राधिभोजन ।
दशो हिरण्यपिण्डान्दिवोदासादसमनिषम् ।।

A golden currency, weights of gold, '*aṣṭāprūḍ*', is mentioned *Taittirīya Samhitā* of the *Yajurveda.*[12]

In the *AV* the term *niṣka* is used to refer to gold coins (XX.131.5).

There is no mention of any gold coin in the Arthaśāstra.

Application of gold powder :

One of the earliest application of gold powder in ancient India, as mentioned in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (III.40.25-28) was in the manufacture of colour for painting. *Mānasollāsa* and *Śilparatna* give full details of the technique used for making gold powder by mechanical comminution.

Medicinal value of Gold :

Gold has also been used in ancient times as a medicine. Chemical methods have been used to produce very fine gold powder *i.e.* dust. Frequently during its preparation, small amounts of other ingredients are also added. Such very fine gold powder is known as gold *bhasma* and has been widely used to treat various ailments in Indian medicine. *Rasaratnasamuccaya* (5.15) describes a technique for making gold *bhasma.*

The Sūtrasthāna (V.38.62) of *Suśruta Samhitā,* mentions the use of gold *'suvarṇa'* : त्रपुसीसताम्ररजतसुवर्णकृष्णलोहानि । This *tripvādi group* (of

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12 *Taittirīya Samhitā,* 3.4.1.4 : . . . अष्टाप्रूड्हिरण्यं . . . ।

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metals) is an excellent remedy for artificial poison and worms; and alleviates thirst, poison and heart disease.

In the same text, *suvarṇa cūrṇa* (gold powder) is also mentioned as to be given to a newly born child, being mixed with honey and ghee.

Suśruta Samhitā (*Śarīra*, X. 68-70) formulated four compositions of tonics for children, each of which contained gold powder as an important ingredient in promoting the growth of physique, mental power and intellect:

सौवर्णं सुकृतं चूर्णं कुष्ठं मधु घृतं वचा ।
मत्स्याक्षकः शङ्खपुष्पी मधु सर्पिः सकाञ्चनम् ।।
अर्कपुष्पी मधु घृतं चूर्णितं कनकं वचा ।
हेमचूर्णानि कैडर्यः श्वेता दूर्वा घृतं मधु ।।
चत्वारोऽभिहिताः प्राशाः श्लोकार्धेषु चतुर्ष्वपि।
कुमाराणां वपुर्मेधाबल बुद्धिविवर्धनाः ।।

Rasaratnasamuccaya [13] also describes such a preparation.

Conclusion :

Man and metal have an age-old relationship. Out of all metals known to man in ancient times, perhaps gold was the first with which man became acquainted. Indians had, and still continue to have, great fascination for gold. Its special attributes, such as pleasing and untarnishing colour, excellent corrosion and oxidation resistance, ease of forming, and limited availability made it an ideal metal for ornaments, decoration, currency, and store of wealth in ancient India.

Gold has captivated the culture and ethos of Indian society in both the modern and the ancient times. Gold is not just a physical embellishment but has achieved profligacy in spiritual and medicinal

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13 *Rasaratnasamuccaya* (14.14-17) :

रसभस्मत्रयो भागा भागैकं हेमभस्मकम् ।
... ... सघृतैर्दापयेद्वैद्यो रोगराजप्रशान्तये ।।

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enhancements. In ancient India, the million specks of this precious metal and its incandescence has been waxed eloquently in Vedic texts both as a praise to the gods and as salutations to them. Gold is the resplendence of Mahāviṣṇu as Sudarśana, the brilliant ochre-hues of Sūrya Bhagavān just before twilight, the rhythmic dance of the sunflowers in the fields and the bedecked bride amidst Vedic chants and hymns pervading the *śubhamuhūrta*.

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ANANVAYĀLAṄKĀRA – THE PARADOX OF SELF COMPARISON

V.Kameswari

The incomparability of an object is suggested by showing the same thing as both the *upamāna* and the *upameya* in Ananvayālaṅkāra. A thing is compared to itself to aver its excellence. The attribution of the two characteristics of *upamānatva* and *upameyatva* to the same object is itself in conflict with the condition of a *sādṛśyamūlālaṅkāra* which is based on two objects. But this paradox of self comparison constitutes the charm of the figure, as much as the suggested idea that there is nothing equal to the object.

This *alaṅkāra* seems to have been brought under *sādṛśya* as the form of the figure contains all the four technical needs of an *upamā*. But the idea that there is no *anvaya* or *sambandha* of the object with any other *upamāna*, is against the basic condition of a similarity – *sādṛśyam upamā bhede* that is, 'similarity is in difference'. Moreover, Jagannātha himself declares that in *ananvaya*, it is not *sādṛśya* but *dvitīya-sadṛśya-vyavaccheda* that gives rise to strikingness in this figure. In short this self comparison precludes another object of comparison.

The earliest to define this *alaṅkāra* is Bhāmaha; he clearly states that the *alaṅkāra* gets its name – *ananvaya*, since here (i) a thing is said to resemble itself and (ii) the aim is to suggest that there is in reality nothing similar (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*, III.45):

यत्र तेनैव तस्य स्यादुपमानोपमेयता ।
असादृश्यविवक्षातः तमित्याहुः अनन्वयम् ।।

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A fine example is given by him describing a lady's face as resembling none other than itself since it dazzles with red lips, bright teeth and dark eyes [1].

Ananvaya as a separate *alaṅkāra* is not found in *Kāvyādarśa*. However, the definition and the example given by Daṇḍin for a variety of *Upamā* called by him as *Asādhāraṇopamā* is nothing but *Ananvaya* in its treatment. Here too, the object of comparison is precluded and the face that had surpassed the beauty of *candra* and *aravinda*, says Daṇḍin is equal only to itself [2].

Udbhaṭa echoes Bhāmaha's definition and insists on *asādṛśyavivakṣā* when he states in the *Vṛtti* (on V.7): –

न अन्यत् तत्र सदृशमित्येतत्तात्पर्येण तदेवोपमानं चोपमेयं च यद्युगपदुपनिबध्यते सोऽनन्वयः।

In Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, it is clearly stated that *Ananvayālaṅkāra* is the representation of the same object as *upamāna* and *upameya* (IV.3.14):

एकस्य उपमेयत्वोपमानत्वे अनन्वयः।

The idea that there is nothing similar to the object compared is established by him (अस्य असादृश्यम् एतेन प्रतिपादितम् ।) by citing the famous *śloka* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Yuddha.110. 23cd,24ab):

गगनं गगनाकारं सागरः सागरोपमः ।।
रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ।

Rudraṭa too recognizes this *alaṅkāra* but treats this as a variety of Upamā named *Ananvayopamā*. According to him in this *alaṅkāra*,

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1 *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, III.46: ताम्बूलरागवलयं स्फुरद्दशनदीधिति । इन्दीवराभनयनं तवेव वदनं तव ।।

2 *Kāvyādarśa*, II.37 : चन्द्रारविन्दयोः कान्तिमतिक्रम्य मुखं तव । आत्मनैवाभवत्तुल्यमित्यसाधारणोपमा ।।

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an object is likened to itself in order to rule out its similarity with another (*Kavyālaṅkāra,* VIII.11):

सा स्यादनन्वयाख्या यत्रैकं वस्त्वनन्यसदृशमिति ।
स्वस्य स्वयमेव भवेदुपमानं चोपमेयं च ।।

According to Mammaṭa,when the same object is perceived as both *upamāna* and *upameya* and the comparison being expressed in a single sentence forms *Ananvayālaṅkāra* (*Kāvyaprakāśa,*V.5ab):

उपमानोपमेयत्वे एकस्यैवैकवाक्यगे अनन्वयः।

He also adds that it precludes the semblance of another: उपमानान्तरसम्बन्धाभावोऽनन्वयः ।

Ruyyaka slightly rephrases the definition as (*Alaṅkārasarvasva,* 12):

एकस्यैवोपमानोपमेयत्वेऽनन्वयः।

Explaining this, Vidyācakravartin adds in his *Sañjīvanī* commentary that this figure shows in a suggestive way, the incomparability of the object:

पूर्वं रूपमुपमेयत्वं तदनुगमो वाच्याभिप्रायेण यत्पुनरपूर्वं रूपमुपमानत्वं तदनुगमो व्यङ्ग्याभिप्रायेणेति यावत्।

Again while commenting on the beautiful illustrative verse[3] given by Ruyyaka, he insists on the aspect of suggestion involved in *Ananvaya* –

अत्र प्रथमार्जुनभीमशब्दो वाच्यपरौ, चरमौ तु व्यङ्ग्यपरौ ।

Also, Vidyācakravartin makes clear of the speciality of this *alaṅkāra;* that is the apparent conflict of the *upamānatva* and *upameyatva*

3 युद्धेऽर्जुनोऽर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रतापो भीमोऽपि भीम इव वैरिषु भीमकर्मा ।
न्यग्रोधवर्तिनमथाधिपतिं कुरूणामुत्प्रासनार्थमिव जग्मतुरादरेण ।।

being in the same object constitutes the charm of this *alaṅkāra* by confirming that there is no *anvaya* or *sambandha* with any other *upamāna:*

एकस्यैवोपमानोपमेयत्वक्लृप्तिः सदृशान्तरसम्बन्ध निवृत्त्यर्थमित्यर्थः ।

Viśvanātha (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, X.26) follows suit. He makes it a point to bring out the difference between Lāṭānuprāsa, where the sameness of the words is essential and *Ananvaya* where the sameness of the words is only accidental; again in the former it is *śabdapaunaruktya* and in thelatter it is *arthapaunaruktya.* To his support he draws from the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, the following *saṅgrahaśloka* of Ruyyaka (in the context of *Lāṭānuprāsa*):

अनन्वये च शब्दैक्यमौचित्यादानुषङ्गिकम् ।
अस्मिंस्तु लाटानुप्रासे साक्षादेव प्रयोजकम् ।।

Vidyādhara's *Ekāvalī* elaborates on this distinction between the two as (p.113):

पौनरुक्त्यस्य तात्पर्यमात्रभिन्नस्यात्र प्रयोजकत्वात् अनन्वये च अर्थमात्रगत–युगपद् उपमानोपमेयभावस्य उपयुक्तत्वात् । शब्दैक्यस्य पुनरौचितीवशेन प्रसङ्गसङ्गतत्वात् ।

On this the *Taralā* (com. on *Ekāvalī*) says that both the *paunaruktis* apply in *Lāṭānuprāsa* while only *arthapaunarukti* is effective in *Ananvayālaṅkāra*:

उभयपौनरुक्त्य लाटानुप्रासे प्रयोजकम् अनन्वये त्वर्थपौनरुक्त्यं तावतैवैकस्य युगपद् उपमानोपमेयभावसिद्धेरित्यर्थः।

Śobhākaramitra has defined *Ananvaya* in his *Alaṅkāraratnākara* as :

तेन तदेकदेशेनावसितभेदेन वोपमानतया कल्पितेन सादृश्यमनन्वयः।

He also gives three varieties of *Ananvaya* – (i) *upameya* is made into the *upamāna* through apparent similarity ; (ii) a part of the *upameya*

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is imagined to be the *upamāna* and (iii) the *upameya* is presented as the *upamāna* on account of the *bimba-pratibimba-bhāvāpanna-sādhāraṇadharma*. Śobhākara further considers the *upamānāntara-niṣedha* (absence of any other *upamāna*) as the essential feature of *Ananvaya*.

All the varieties given by Śobhākara come under strong criticism of Jayaratha and later Jagannātha refutes them all based on Jayaratha's arguments.

Before Jagannātha, it is Appayya Dīkṣita who attracts our attention by his exposition in *Ananvayālaṅkāra*. He at first takes up the generally accepted definition of Vāmana – एकस्यैवोपमानोपमेयत्वेऽनन्वयो मतः । – the same object having the state of both the *upamāna* and the *upameya* forms the figure *Ananvaya*. By this definition, Appayya says that the *Rasanopamā* and *Upameyopamā* will be avoided – तेनोपमेयोपमायां रसनोपमायां च नातिव्याप्तिः । He adds that while the same गगनं गगनाकारं सागरः सागरोपमः । is an example for *pratīyamāna dharma* (having suggested attribute), the verse :

न केवलं भाति नितान्तकान्तिर्नितम्बिनी सैव नितम्बिनीव ।
यावद्विलासायुधलास्यवासास्ते तद्विलासा इव तद्विलासाः ।।

is an example for *nirdiṣṭha dharma* (denoting a particular attribute) since the beautiful lady of great charm is splendid like herself and her amorous activities are like themselves.

He goes on to show that the expression that Rāma's behaviour to his younger brothers is the same as towards virtue, wealth and desire [4] is a case of *Samuccayopamā* and not *Ananvaya*; so too, the declaration of Rāma that he could abandon Sītā just he had abducted the *rājya* [5] is not a case of *Ananvaya*.

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4 पितुर्नियोगाद्वनवासमेवं निस्तीर्य रामः प्रतिपन्नराज्यः ।
धर्मार्थकामेषु समां प्रपेदे यथा तथैवावरजेषु वृत्तिम् ।।

5 त्यक्ष्यामि वैदेहसुतां पुरस्तात् समुद्रनेमिं पितराज्ञयेव ।

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Again Appayya Dīkṣita shows that in the *śloka* –

उपाददे तस्य सहस्ररश्मिस्त्वष्टा नवं निर्मितमातपत्रम् ।
स तद्दुकूलादविदूरमौलिर्बभौ पतद्गङ्ग इवोत्तमाङ्गे ।।

the relation of *upamāna* and *upameya* between the falling of the Ganges and the silken fringed sunshade does not lead to *Ananvayālaṅkāra* .

To ward off the fallacy that the definition of *Ananvaya* could include such illustrations, Appayya Dīkṣita gives his own definition stating that a comparison of something with its own self, based on one single property in conformity, is known by the name *Ananvayālaṅkāra* :

स्वस्य स्वेनोपमा या स्यादनुगाम्येकधर्मिका ।
अन्वर्थनामधेयोऽयमनन्वय इतीरितः ।।

He further explains that by the adjunct *svasya svenaiva* (comparison with its own self), *Upameyopamā* and *Rasanopamā* are avoided. By the phrase *anugāmī ekadharmikā* (based on a single property in conformity), the definition also precludes the other varieties of *Upamā*. The term *anvarthanāmadheya* is used to stress the basic feature of *Ananvaya* that comparison of a thing to its own self should be 'based on one single property in conformity'. Further it is suggestive of incomparability.

He also approves of the definition given by Bhāmaha which uses the adjunct '*tenaiva tasya*' whereby it sets aside a variety of *Atiśayokti.*

Appayya Dīkṣita concludes this discussion by showing that *Ananvayālaṅkāra* can also be suggested as in the case of Vidura's statement when he says that the delight derived from having Kṛṣṇa visiting his house can be equalized only by Kṛṣṇa's visit to his home once again:

अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।
कालेनैषा भवेत् प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ।।

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Coming to Jagannātha, he opens the discussion on *Ananvayālaṅkāra* (in the second section) with his definition in the following words:

द्वितीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदफलकवर्णनविषयीभूतं यदेकोपमानोपमेयकं सादृश्यं तदनन्वयः ।

His stress lies on the condition of *dvitīya-sadṛśa-vyavaccheda* – having no second similar object being the essential feature of *Ananvaya.* Hence according to him when the similarity of one and the same *upamāna* and *upameya* excludes a second similar entity (even if it is imagined), it leads to *Ananvayālaṅkāra* :

अत्रासत उपमानस्य कल्पनया सदुपमानं नास्तीति द्वितीय सदृशव्यवच्छेदस्यास्ति प्रतीतिः।

The word *ekopamānopameyakam* would exclude *Kalpitopamā* as in the latter the *upamāna* and *upameya* are two different things:

कल्पितोपमानिकायाम् उपमायाम् अतिप्रसङ्गवारणाय एकोपमानोपमेयकमिति ।

Again he also rejects instances where *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva* acts as the *sādhāraṇadharma* on the ground that it will not be conditioned by the *dvitīya-sadṛśa-vyavaccheda* principle:

बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावापन्नो धर्मस्तु . . . सति किञ्चिद्धर्मावच्छिन्नेन स्वेन सादृश्यस्य धर्मान्तरावच्छिन्ने स्वस्मिन्नन्वये बाधकाभावात् सदृशान्तरव्यवच्छेदाप्रतिपत्तेश्च अनन्वय एव न स्यात्।

Jagannātha explains the *Ananvayālaṅkāra* with two examples with the *sādhāraṇadharma* expressed in one and implied in the other.

He broadly classifies the *alaṅkāra* into two groups as *pūrṇa* and *lupta.* Pūrṇa is of six types following the *Pūrṇopamā*:

स च पूर्णो लुप्तश्चेति तावद् द्विविधः । पूर्णस्तूपमावत् षड्विधोऽपि सम्भवति ।

Of the *lupta* variety, Dharmalupta is by itself of five types following the case of *Upamālaṅkāra*; *Vācakalupta* varieties such as *Vācakalupta Ananvaya* of Kyaṅ, Samāsa, Karmārthaka-ṇamul and Kartṛ-ṇamul are

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explained by Jagannātha with examples. Again, *Dharma-vācakobhaya-lupta* and *Vācaka-dharmopamāna-lupta* varieties are also explained with proper illustrations. Finally he states that the varieties of *Upamānalupta* being practically impossilble and if possible not being delectable, they do not get illustrated by him:

अत्र चोपमानलुप्तादयोऽन्ये भेदा असम्भवादहृद्यत्वाच्च नोदाहृताः ।

Now Jagannātha turns to examine the views of Śobhākaramitra as found in his *Alaṅkāraratnākara* which gives three varieties of *Ananvayalaṅkāra* –

(i) The *upameya* itself is described as *upamāna*; e.g:

युद्धेऽर्जुनोऽर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रतापो भीमोऽपि भीम इव वैरिषु भीमकर्मा।
न्यगप्रेधवर्तिनमथाधिपतिं कुरूणामुत्प्रासनार्थमिव जग्मतुरादरेण ।।

(ii) One part of *upameya* is taken as *upamāna* ; e.g:

एतावति प्रपञ्चे सुन्दरमहिलासहस्रभरितेऽपि ।
अनुहरति सुभग तस्या वामार्धं दक्षिणार्धस्य ।।

(iii) The *upameya* is described as *upamāna* on account of *bimba-pratibimba-bhāvāpanna-sādhāraṇadharma* being the differentiating factor; e.g:

गन्धेन सिन्धुरधुरन्धरवक्त्रमैत्री मैरावणप्रभृतयोऽपि न शिक्षितास्ते ।
तत्त्वं कथं त्रिनयनाचलरत्नभित्ति स्वीयप्रतिच्छविषु यूथपतित्वमेषि ।।

In all these varieties Jagannātha records that Śobhākara considers the feature of *upamānāntara-niṣedha* as the important principle –

एषूपमानन्तरविरहस्त्रिष्वपि भेदेषु गम्यते । इत्यनन्वयस्त्रिविधः।

Jagannātha accepts the view but states that *upamānāntara-niṣedha* alone cannot be the deciding factor. To prove his point he shows how the latter two and the above examples fail to be *Ananvayālaṅkāra* for the following reasons –

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(i) In general apart from negating another object as not suitable, the condition for *Ananvaya* is that one and the same object should be both *upamāna* and the *upameya.*

(ii) In the second example *vāmārdha* as *upamāna* and *dakṣkiṇārdha upameya*, though of the same object, being different, the condition of *dvitīya-sadṛśa-vyavaccheda* is not fulfilled and thus the condition of *ekasyaiva upamānopameyatā* also is not adhered to. Jagannātha also does not accept the idea of Śobhākara that there is *Ananvayadhvani* in this verse.

(iii) The third example is negated on the basis of the *bimba-pratibimba-bhāvāpanna-sādhāraṇadharma* which is upheld by Śobhākara; in the example given by him, the elephant is compared not to itself, but only to its reflection; here Jagannātha concurs with Appayya Dīkṣita in considering this as not falling under *Ananvaya.*

Jagannātha also criticises Appayya Dīkṣita's example of *Ananvayadhvani* in the verse which states that the pleasure of Vidura felt at the arrival of Kṛṣṇa can be compared to the pleasure that will be felt when Kṛṣṇa will visit him again, on the same grounds as he had rejected Śobhākara's example:

अमुष्यास्त्वदागमनप्रभवायाः प्रीतेर्वारान्तरत्वदागमनप्रभावा प्रीतिः सदृशीति प्रत्यस्य सर्वजनसिद्धतया श्रीकृष्णागमनजन्यप्रीतिसमान्यावयवयोर्द्वयोः प्रीतिव्यक्तयोः सादृश्यस्य- अबाधितत्वाद् योगार्थाभावेनानन्वय एव नायं भवितुमर्हति, स्वस्मिन् सादृश्यस्यान्वयाभावाद्- अनन्वयः इत्युपमाप्रकरणे स्वयमेवाभिधानात् ।

Jagannātha conc-ludes the discussion by citing two verses each of his own for illustrating the *Ananyayālaṅkāra* and *Ananvayadhvani*. The following verse is an example for *Ananvaya* where the superiority of the Ganges is brought out explicitly:

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कृतक्षुद्राघौघानथ सपदि सन्तप्तमनसः
समुद्धर्तुं सन्ति त्रिभुवनतले तीर्थनिवहाः ।
अपि प्रायश्चित्तप्रसरणपथातीतचरिता –
न्नरानूरीकर्तुं त्वमिव जननि ! त्वं विजयसे ।।

"There are in this three-fold world many sacred waters to purify all at once the worst sinners who have suffered much, but to receive heartily those whose actions are inexpiable, O mother ! you are ever ready like yourself "[6]

In this second *udāharaṇa śloka,* the superiority of the Ganges over the other rivers is suggested by the particle *'tu'*:

इयति प्रपञ्चविषये तीर्थानि कियन्ति सन्ति पुण्यानि ।
परमार्थतो विचारे देवी गङ्गा तु गङ्गेव ।।

"In this world how many sacred waters are there? But as a matter of fact, on reflection, the divine *Gaṅgā* (will be seen to) resemble *Gaṅgā* (herself)".

Again, the *Ananvayadhvani* is illustrated by the verse below from the *Bhāminīvilāsa* of Jagannātha. When *ananvaya* becomes *dhvani* it ceases to be an *alaṅkāra.* Here the words *bhedena, na* and *pede* suggest the *ananvaya*:

पृष्टाः खलु परपुष्टाः परितो दृष्टाश्च विटपिनस्सर्वे ।
भेदेन भुवि न पेदे साधर्म्यं ते रसाल! मधुपेन ।।

"The cuckoos were asked; all the adjoining trees were seen; Oh! Mango Tree! nowhere on this earth was discovered by the honey-drinking bee an object similar to you and different from you".

In the following verse, many words are suggestive of *ananvaya* and it brings out the message that the Ganges whose water washes the

6 Translations of all the illustrative from verses of Jagannātha cited above are from V. A. Ramaswami Sastri's *Jagannātha Paṇḍita*, Annamalai University, 1942.

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feet of Lord Viṣṇu is second to none in her greatness; she is comparable onlyto herself:

नगेभ्यो यान्तीनां कथय तटिनीनां कतमया
पुराणां संहर्तुः सुरधुनि ! कपर्दोऽधिरुरुहे ।
कया वा श्रीभर्तुः पदमितरयाक्षालि सलिलै-
स्तुलालेशो यस्यां तव जननि ! दीयेत कविभिः ।।

"O Ganges! say which river flowing from mountains had mounted the matted hair of Śiva, the destroyer of the three cities? By whome else had the foot of the Lord of Lakṣmī been washed with water? O Mother! to which of these rivers could poets compare you – even distantly?"

In the main, most of the Ālaṅkārikas starting from Bhāmaha have treated this *ālaṅkāra* as a separate figure of speech. Daṇḍin does not handle it as a separate *ālaṅkāra*; but his *Asādhāraṇopamālaṅkāra* reflects the features of *Ananvayālaṅkāra*. Rudraṭa also treats it as a variety of Upamā and gives it the name *Ananvayopamā*. All Ālaṅkārikas agree that *ekasyopamānopameyakam* (the *upameya* and *upamāna* being one and the same) and *asādṛśyavivakṣā* or *dvitīya-sadṛśa-vyavaccheda* in the words of Jagannātha (excluding another similar object) are the main features of *Ananvayālaṅkāra*.

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